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 HISTORY  
 OF  
*HERODOTUS,*

(Stiled by C I C E R O)

The FATHER of *History*, and PRINCE  
 of *Historians*.

Containing chiefly

The Wars between the *Grecians, Lydians,*  
*Persians, Phœnicians, and Barbarians.*

With an Account of the Various Religions, and Strange  
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Translated from the *Greek*,  
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To which is Prefixed,  
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In TWO VOLUMES.

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[HERODOTUS was the Man, who first placed History in its true Dignity and Lustre; and by the native Strength of his own Genius, rais'd at once that noble and beautiful Structure, which has serv'd for a Model to succeeding Ages. The Smoothness and unaffected Simplicity of his Narration; the Decency of his Speeches, most artfully adapted to the Character of every Person speaking; together with the beautiful Order and Composition of his History, which by following *Things*, not *Time*, ever charms to the last Syllable, and leaves the Reader with a Desire of more. L. LITTLEBURY.]

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L O N D O N;

Printed for E. BELL, J. DARBY, A. BETTESWORTH, J. PEMBERTON, F. FAYRAM, C. RIVINGTON, J. HOOKE, F. CLAY, J. BATTLE, and E. SYMON. M.DCC.XXIII.

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# P R E F A C E.

**I**NTENDING to give a short Account of Herodotus, and of his History which is here presented to the Publick in English, I think my self oblig'd in the first Place to say something of History in general. For what can be more just, than to shew the Value and Usefulness of this kind of Writing, when I am to speak of the Man who first plac'd it in true Dignity and Lustre ; and by the native Strength of his own Genius rais'd at once that noble and beautiful Structure, which has serv'd for a Model to succeeding Ages ? Before his Time, whatever had the Title of History, was, for the most part, either Fable and Poetical Fiction ; or, at best, but a naked Register of publick Events ; hardly more than a bare List of the Names of the principal Actors, and of the Places of Action ; without Ornament, without Life ; affecting the Eye rather than informing the Understanding, or moving the Heart, by specifying the Causes, Councils, and Circumstances, which give Rise to every Action, influence the various Turns, and produce the final Issue of all publick Enterprizes. Herodotus found out the Art of collecting the rough Materials, shaping them in just

A 2

Proportion,



## ii      The P R E F A C E.

*Proportion, ranging them in exact Order, and giving the whole Frame majestick Beauty and immortal Strength.*

*I may venture to say, that whatever is truly useful, cannot but be pleasing to human Nature. And, as nothing in the World is so useful and beneficial as Government founded on common Equity and Prudence; so nothing is so delightful to the Mind, as the Contemplation of the Happiness of bearing a Part in a well-regulated Community. There is such a Charm in good Order and steady Discipline, that whole Nations have been ravish'd with it to such a Degree, as to seem for several Ages, to have been insensible of all other Pleasure: And by how much any Man excell'd others in Elevation and Greatness of Soul, by so much more was he inflam'd with a Zeal to contribute to the Preservation of that good Order, and in Consequence to the general Felicity.*

*THOSE who are acquainted with the Actions of the ancient Grecians and Romans, will readily assent to this Truth: Which will by a natural Inference lead them to another, and demonstrate, That of all kinds of Writing none is so useful and entertaining as History.*

*THE Poets were quick to observe this in the earliest and rudest Times; and therefore seiz'd a Province so fertile of Incidents proper to inspire the sublimest Thoughts in themselves, and by the means of their powerful Art to work upon the Passions of others; and were the first who set up for Historians. But the Richness of the Soil, prov'd the Ruin of the luxuriant Discoverers: The innate Lustre of great Actions wrought so strongly on Minds too susceptible of the lightest Impressions, that they overheated their Imaginations, quitted the*  
*common*



# The P R E F A C E. iii

*common Theatre of Human Life, and soaring out of Reason's View from Hyperbole to Fable, lost themselves in the Clouds to which they had exalted their Bacchus, their Hercules, and the rest of their Heroes.*

*I have said that 'tis natural, from the Benefit and Happiness arising from good Government, to infer the Use and Pleasure of History. 'Tis indeed most natural ; seeing the one was the very Cause and Parent of the other. 'Twas good Government which gave Life and Being to History ; and rescued Mankind from the Delusion of Fable. The political Institutions of Solon and Lycurgus, produc'd a long Series of more beautiful and glorious Scenes of real Actions, than all the Poets inspir'd by their Apollo, had ever been able to figure to themselves in Idea, and deliver in Fiction.*

*THE Mind of Man does not willingly endure Deception : The Poets could no longer amuse with monstrous Shadows, Eyes which had seen the native Force of good Order establish'd on impartial Reason and natural Equity. In a Word, the just Lawgiver prepar'd the Way for the judicious Historian : And (to come close to my present Purpose) Herodotus happily found, in the Times immediately preceding his own, a Subject which supplied him at once with all the Rules for writing History ; and had only the plain (tho' that be the difficult) Task, to suit his Composition and Stile to the Conduct of the Nations whose Actions and Manners he undertook to relate.*

*EXPERIMENT and Comparison render Men capable of finding the true Value of every Thing. On the first Appearance of Herodotus, all the fabulous Legends of the Poets, with the inanimate Registers of dry Annalists, were found to*

## iv      The P R E F A C E.

*bear no Proportion, either in Profit or Delight, when thrown into the Balance against his History. And in like manner, the Comparison which every Man who reads his Work cannot but make, of the different Effects of an Equal and Tyrannical Government, of firm and slack Discipline, of Caution and Presumption, of Fortitude and Meanness of Spirit, of Dissoluteness and Sobriety, in short, of all kinds of Virtue and Vice, upon all Conditions and Degrees of Men, from Monarchs and States down to private Persons; that Comparison, I say, has been the principal Rule of Writing (from which the rest are easily deduc'd) to all the Historians who have succeeded him, and must be the eternal Measure to others for judging of all Human Affairs. As will appear amply, from a general View of the Instruction and Entertainment of History.*

*NO Passion is so strong in Man, and so universal in all Ages and Nations, as that of acquiring Glory by publick Services. Not only Triumphs and Statues, but even Crowns of Leaves, bestow'd as a national Acknowledgment of distinguish'd Merit, have been pursued with as much Eagerness and Danger, as ever the Rewards of Titles and Riches possibly can: And I believe few Men are so sordid or profligate, as not to own themselves affected with a Desire of Reputation, in such a modest Degree as is suitable to their Station in the World; at least, that they are dispos'd to live with some Decency, however privately. Now in whatever Station a Man is plac'd, whether publick or private, he will find himself more or less qualified to manage his own Affairs, or those of the Community to which he belongs, as his Knowledge of Men and Things is more or less extensive.*

*The*



## The P R E F A C E. v

*The Means of acquiring Knowledge are of two Sorts, Experience or Information. The first is never very considerable in Men, till they are past the Exercise of almost all Virtues : And Themistocles seems reasonably to complain of the miserable Condition of Man, who must die as soon as he begins to know how to live. Besides, all who attain to old Age, do not arrive at Experience : The Employments that lead to it are not many : And the longest Life affords but few Opportunities of extraordinary Actions. As for personal Information from others, it can at best only reach to such Affairs as have pass'd in their own Time, and that imperfectly ; but what is this in Comparison to so many Thousand Years included in the Historical Registers of the World ? Which bring all Human Things under the Eye of the Reader within a small Compass ; teach him to form his Conduct by the best Examples ; and represent such a Variety of Conjunctions and Accidents, as consider'd with Judgment creates a Habit of Prudence, without the Help of Age or actual Experience. History is so far preferable to the longest Experience, as the past Ages comprehend more Examples than the Age of one Man. The Dead are the best Counsellors ; not to be corrupted by Money ; not to be terrified by Power ; not to be persuaded by Intreaty ; not deceiving by false Colours. They will faithfully instruct us by what means Empires are erected, decay, and perish : How a small State may become great : With what Judgment Wars are to be undertaken ; and with what Diligence pursued : With what Caution to treat of Peace, or engage in Leagues, without Injustice, Dishonour, or Damage. In short, would we know what Fate at-*

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## vi      The P R E F A C E.

*tends any State or Kingdom? History only will teach us, from a thousand Examples, to exercise the Art of Divination innocently and surely: And at least cannot but have this Effect, that hardly any thing can seem new, astonishing, or dreadful to us. In History, as in the Book of Fate, stand recorded the Glory of good Men, and the eternal Infamy of the Bad: By which every private Person is taught how to acquit himself in all Conditions so as to deserve the Name of a Man; and Princes are warn'd that they are no more than Men, and that Fame is always just to the Dead, however partial to the Living. The Art of Government is best learnt from History; or rather that 'tis no Art, but that the same Causes ever did and will produce the same Effects. So that Statesmen can never be at a Loss how to exert the Virtues of Fortitude, Constancy, and Integrity, to prevent or cure the publick Disorders and Calamities. Generals are instructed by the Delays of Fabius, and the Celerity of Cæsar; the Stratagems of Lyfander, and the Industry of Hannibal. Even Nations learn, from the Description they find of Servitude, how to value Liberty: Phalaris, Dionysius, Nero, Caligula, Domitian, and too many others, are the terrifying Examples: and by the fraudulent Practices of a Philip, are taught to stop their Ears against the most specious Promises of one accusom'd to deceive.*

*TO conclude, nothing can be more delightful, than by the means of History to enter the Athenian Areopagus, and the Roman Senate: To be present with Leonidas at Thermopyle, with Aristides at Plataea, with Scipio at Carthage, and with Alexander at Arbela: To be plac'd as a Spectator out of all Hazard, to learn Wisdom from the Dan-*  
gers

# The P R E F A C E. vii

*gers of others ; to take a distinct View of past Governments, Customs, and Manners ; and by applying former Examples to our own Use, reap the Advantage of other Mens Experience, and of Tryals already made in every kind.*

*HERODOTUS was born at Halicarnassus, a Grecian Colony in the lower Asia, a little before the Invasion of Greece by Xerxes ; and liv'd to the Times of the Peloponesian War. He withdrew from the Place of his Nativity to Samos, to avoid the Tyranny of Lygdamis, Grandson of the famous Artemisia so often mention'd in his History. From thence returning after some Time to his own Country, he had a principal Part in the Expulsion of the Tyrant : But soon finding himself envied and us'd with Ingratitude, he went to Italy with a Colony sent by the Athenians to build a City, which they call'd Thurium, near the Ruins of the ancient Sybaris.*

*WHETHER he wrote his History at Samos or Thurium, is not certain : But both those Places being govern'd in a popular manner, left him free from all Impressions of Hope or Fear, which might incline him to Flattery or Detraction. And as for Truth, he spar'd no Pains to collect the best Information that could possibly be had. To that End he travell'd into Ægypt, saw all the principal Cities, and convers'd with the Priests of that Country : He spent some Time in visiting the several Parts of Greece ; went to Babylon and Tyre ; and was in Thrace, Scythia, Arabia, and Palestine.*

*HAVING compos'd his History from the Materials he had with so great Labour collected, he resolv'd to expose it to the Censure of Men, who were not only well inform'd of the main Facts, but perfectly*

*perfectly*



## viii      The P R E F A C E.

*perfectly qualified to judge of his Performance. He went to the Olympian Exercises, for which the Grecians were assembled from all Parts. Many of these doubtless had been personally in one or other of the Battles against the Persians; and not a Man could be ignorant, at the distance of so few Years, of the chief Circumstances of a War so important to all Greece. To this Assembly, compos'd of Men, call'd by the most knowing Part of the World to have been their Masters in all the noblest Arts, he read his History, which with infinite Applause was universally approv'd.*

*AFTER a Judgment so solemn and in every Respect so valuable, 'tis unnecessary to collect all the Suffrages of the best Writers of succeeding Times among the Grecians and Romans, in Praise of Herodotus. Yet I am unwilling to omit, that Cicero to shew his Esteem for our Author uses the highest Expression the Roman Language is capable of, styling him the Father of History; not because he was the most ancient, for besides others of less Fame, Hellanicus of Mitylene and Charon of Lampiacus were before him; but judging him the Prince of Historians, he gave him the Title of Father, which the Romans ever us'd to denote a Person most illustrious and highly deserving of the Commonwealth: The Name of Lord being held in Abhorrence, till the Suppression of their Liberty introduc'd the Name with the Thing. Nor can I without Injustice suppress the Testimony given to him by Dionysius the Halicarnassian; because his own admirable History is the highest Proof of his Ability to speak justly on this Argument.*

*THIS Writer in his Critical and Rhetorical Works, extols the Happiness of Herodotus in choosing a Subject of the greatest Dignity, that shew'd*  
his



# The P R E F A C E. ix

*his Country in the utmost Glory ; and prov'd to a Demonstration, by the uniform Successes of the Battles of Marathon, Salamis, Plataea, and Mycale, that Superiority of Numbers was but a feeble Defence to the Great King against the military Virtue and excellent Discipline of the Grecians. He commends the Smoothness and unaffected Simplicity of his Narration ; the Decency of his Speeches, most artfully adapted to the Character of every Person speaking ; together with the beautiful Order and Composition of his History, which by following Things, not Time, ever charms to the last Syllable, and leaves the Reader with a desire of more : Preferring him to Thucydides in every thing, except Brevity, Vehemence, and close Reasoning ; Talents, if I mistake not, more proper to an Orator than a Historian ; and probably for that Reason so much esteem'd and imitated by Demosthenes, that he is said to have written over his History eight times with his own Hand.*

*AS Herodotus us'd the properest Means not to be impos'd upon ; so in many Places of his History he has prov'd himself to be free, as well from Credulity, as from any Intention to impose upon others, by insinuating and sometimes by arguing the Improbability, either of general Reports, or of some particular Informations he himself had receiv'd. In his 2<sup>d</sup> Book he says, These Things are related by the Ægyptians ; and if any Man think them credible, he is at Liberty : For me, I am oblig'd to write what I have heard. In another Place, These Things I relate after the Libyans. And though many like Warnings are drop'd in divers Parts of his Work ; yet out of abundant Caution he thinks fit to make this plain Declaration in his 7<sup>th</sup> Book, I am oblig'd to relate what is said, tho'*

## X The P R E F A C E.

tho' I am not oblig'd to believe every thing without Distinction; which I desire may be consider'd in all the course of this History. *To this let it be added, That several things which he relates, and were formerly disbeliev'd, have by the modern Navigations been found to be true, as well as other things more strange than most of those he mentions; That Length of Time, Alteration of Manners, various Revolutions, and in many Places a total Change of the Face of Things, render us in some measure incompetent Judges of what may have really been in Nature and Custom, especially in the most remote and unfrequented Parts of the World: I say, let all this be consider'd, and I believe no ingenious Man will think Herodotus stands in need of a more labour'd Apology. But besides, the Ground of his History was, the Wars between the Grecians and Barbarians; and all the strange Customs and Religions which he takes Occasion to describe, seem intended rather to give us a Notion of what human Nature is capable, than for an essential Part of his main Design: And therefore no wise Man will interest himself any farther in those Relations, or lay any greater Stress upon them, than he thinks reasonable; but will attend chiefly to the Excellence and Instruction of the substantial and vital Part of the History.*

*I am not ignorant that Plutarch has left behind him a whole Book against Herodotus, in which he accuses him of speaking too favourably of the Barbarians, and censuring the Conduct of all the Grecians in general; but most especially defaming the Boeotians and Corinthians: Of attributing, without Reason, the Original of the Grecian Gods to Ægypt; and giving too much Credit to the Relations of the Ægyptians: Of Impiety, in attribu-*  
ting



ting to Solon his own irreligious Sentiments; and, insinuating, or rather affirming, that the Delphian Oracle was several times corrupted, and guilty of Imposture: With many more Imputations of various Kinds. Now one would think, that in order to ruine the Reputation of Herodotus, Plutarch ought to have shewn, that when he commends or approves any part of the Conduct or Manners of the Barbarians, he had no good Ground for his Opinion; and when he mentions the Faults and mutual Animosities of the Grecians, his Allegations were untrue: He might at least have produc'd some plausible Arguments, to shew that the Religion of Grece was not deriv'd from Ægypt; and have acknowledg'd with the Sincerity which becomes a Philosopher, that the Account of the Ægyptian Affairs, to the Reign of Psammeticus, was by the Historian's own Declaration intirely owing to the Relations he had from the Priests of that Country: He ought to have brought some Authority to prove that the Words attributed to Solon, had been by some or other accounted supposititious: And that, to accuse the Oracle of Obliquity, double Meaning, and Corruption, was a mere Abuse: But he was too angry to take such Measures, as might serve to shew his Judgment or Ingenuity: And because he found his Countrymen the Thebans, and all the rest of the Bœotians, except the Plataeans and Thebians, branded by the Historian with the Infamy of betraying the Common Cause, and openly siding with the sworn Enemy of the Grecian Name, he could not bear the Reproach, however just. Yet, the Fact is so notorious, that not only Demosthenes appeals to it in one of his \* Philippics as to a

\* Second Philip.



## xii      The P R E F A C E.

*Truth universally known ; but Xenophon himself in his Grecian \* History concurs with Herodotus in charging the same Guilt upon that People. As for the Corinthians, the many honourable Testimonies given them by Herodotus, particularly the Speech of Soficles their Ambassador to dissuade the Lacedemonians from supporting the Tyrant Hippias ; and the generous Resolution, he acknowledges, they took, rather to break with those powerful Allies, than to take Part with them in an unjust War ; are sufficient to demonstrate that the Philosopher was either blinded by Passion, or vainly thought by shewing a Concern for others to escape the Imputation of open Partiality to his Bœotians. Having touch'd upon these few things, I shall not enter into a longer Dispute in Vindication of our Historian ; partly, because I am unwilling to transcribe from Camerarius, Stephanus, Balduinus, Dupin, and many others, who have defended him from the Exceptions of Plutarch ; but chiefly, because I am persuaded his own History will set this Matter in the clearest Light, and best determine the Question, Whether Herodotus has partially favour'd the Barbarians, and invidiously aspers'd the Conduct and Manners of the Grecians ? or, Whether the Charge of Malignity and Detraction, which Plutarch so liberally throws upon him, may not with better Reason be retorted on himself ?*

*I forbear to mention the Elegance, Fluency, and Sweetness of his Stile, (in which the best Judges among the Ancients unanimously allow Herodotus to have excell'd all others ; ) because I am sensible I have not been able to transfuse those Graces into my Version. I have endeavour'd, I confess,*

## The P R E F A C E. xiii

*to shew his Air and Turn of Expression, as well as his Meaning ; imagining that most Readers would not be displeas'd to see some kind of Representation, however imperfect, of the Genius and Spirit of so great a Master : And, in doing this, I have, without Regret, frequently sacrific'd a fashionable Phrase to a plain Expression which I judg'd nearer to the Author's native Candor and Simplicity. But, upon the whole, I am not insensible that many Errors may be found in my Translation ; which I might offer to excuse in some measure, by charging part on the Faults which thro' the Negligence of Transcribers have crept into the Original, and part on the difficulty of forming (at so great a distance of Time, in which the whole Face of the World is in all respects so much chang'd,) a certain and just Notion of several Things mention'd in the Course of this History : But I shall content my self to say, that I have not willingly left any Passage erroneous or obscure, tho' I had not Ability to mend all that I saw or suspected.*

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## *An EXPLANATION of some Words occurring in this History.*

**A**MPHORA, is a Measure containing about a Twelfth Part of our Hogthead.

*Arace*, about a Bushel and half of our Measure.

*Catadupians*, so call'd, because they inhabit near the Cataracts.

*Chœnix*, a Grecian Measure, containing about two Pints or  
: Pounds.

*Cubit*, is a Measure one Foot and half in Length.

*Cypselæ*, a sort of Chest, containing about 9 of our Bushels, in which the Corn for the present Use of the Family was constantly kept.

*Foot*, consists of 4 Palms, and is two Thirds of a Cubit.

*Ichthyophages*, *Ægyptians* of *Elephantis*, who eat Fish.

*Libation*, Wine or other Liquor pour'd out on the Sacrifices, in Honour of the Gods.

*Medimnus*, a Measure containing about a Bushel and half.

*Mine*, (*Attick*) worth about 26 of our Shillings.

*Macrobians*, certain *Æthiopians*, so call'd from their long Life ; which commonly extended to 120 Years, according to our Author.

*Nomades*, so call'd because they were Keepers of Cattle.

*Orguyæ*, which is translated *Perch* or *Fathom*, was the Measure of 6 Foot or 4 Cubits.

*Parasange*, contains 30 Stades in Length.

*Palm*, is the 4<sup>th</sup> Part of a Foot.

*Plethron*, six of these make a Stade.

*Schoene*, consists of 60 Stades.

A *Stade*, is generally accounted equal to 125 Geometrical Paces and allowing 5 Foot to each Pace, the Stade amounts to 625 Foot.

*Stater* of Gold, a *Persian* Coin of the Value of about 26 of our Shillings.

*Talent*, (*Attick*) is by some accounted worth 60 Pound weight of Silver ; by others 80.

'Tis not pretended that this Calculation is entirely exact : But it may possibly serve to prevent some gross Mistakes, which Men unacquainted with these Words might otherwise make in reading the History.

THE





T H E  
H I S T O R Y  
O F  
*HERODOTUS.*

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B O O K I.

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*C L I O.*

**H**ERODOTUS of *Halicarnassus* writes this History, that the Memory of Things past may not be extinguish'd by Length of Time, nor the great and admirable Actions of the Grecians and Barbarians remain destitute of Glory; relating, with other Things, the Causes of the Wars that happen'd between those People.

MEN of celebrated Fame among the Persians say, that the Original of this Enmity is to be imputed to the Phœnicians; who, coming from the *Red Sea*, and settling in the Regions they now inhabit, presently applied themselves to make long Voyages; and being us'd to carry the Merchandizes of *Ægypt* and *Assyria* into divers Parts, came also to *Argos*, which was then the principal City of those Countries that now go under the Name of *Greece*; that, after they had expos'd their

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Goods



Goods to Sale during five or six Days, and had sold almost all, a great Company of Women came down to the Shore, and among them the Daughter of King *Inachus*, both by the Persians and Grecians call'd *Io*; that, while these Women were standing about the Stern of the Ship, and buying what they most desir'd, the Phœnicians having mutually encourag'd each other to the Attempt, laid Hands upon as many as they could; and, tho' the greater Part made their Escape by Flight, yet having seiz'd *Io*, with several others, they secur'd them on board, and immediately set Sail for *Ægypt*. In this Manner the Persians, differing from the Grecians, relate the Story of *Io*'s Passage into *Ægypt*; and say, that this was the first Injury done on either Part. To these Things they add, that certain Grecians, whose Country they know not (but who indeed were of *Crete*) arriving at *Tyre* in *Phœnicia*, carried away *Europa* the King's Daughter, and by that means brought Things to an Equality on both Sides. After which the Grecians became guilty of a second Injury: For arriving with a Ship at *Aia* in *Colchis* on the River *Phasis*, and having dispatch'd their other Affairs, they carried off *Medea* the King's Daughter; and when the King sent an Herald to *Greece* to require Satisfaction for that Violence, and to demand his Daughter, the Grecians return'd for Answer, that they would make him no Reparation, because they had receiv'd none for the Rape of the Argian *Io*. They say also, that in the next succeeding Age, *Alexander* the Son of *Priamus* hearing the Relation of these Things, resolv'd to have a Wife from *Greece* by the like Means, persuading himself that he should not be con-



constrain'd to any Reparation, since all these had escap'd with Impunity ; but that, after he had taken away *Helena*, the Grecians determin'd in the first Place to send Ambassadors to demand her, and to require Satisfaction for the Wrong ; which when they had done, the Trojans objected the Rape of *Medea* ; wond'ring at the Unreasonableness of those, who having neither restor'd that Woman, nor made any kind of Reparation, should have the Confidence to demand Satisfaction from others : That hitherto, however, no other kind of Violence had happen'd between these People ; but that the Grecians became afterwards highly injurious, by entering *Asia* with an Army, before *Europe* was invaded by any People of that Country ; who are persuaded, that tho' all Violences of this Nature be unjust, yet to revenge such Injuries is as evidently the Part of Madmen, as of the Wise to have no Regard for those Women ; because nothing is more manifest, than that they had never been carried off, unless they had consented. For these Reasons the Persians say that the People of *Asia* scorn'd to concern themselves about such Women ; but that the Grecians assembled a numerous Fleet, pass'd over to *Asia*, and destroy'd the Kingdom of *Priamus*, for the sake of a Lacedemonian Woman ; from which Time they account the Grecians to have been their Enemies. For the Persians consider *Asia* as their own, with all the barbarous Nations that inhabit those Regions, and think they have no manner of Society with *Greece* and *Europe*. Thus the Persians relate the Fact, and derive the Original of their Hatred to the Grecians from the Destruction of *Troy*. But the Phœnicians dis-

4 *HERODOTUS.* Book I.

agreeing with them concerning *Io*, deny that they carried her away by Force into *Ægypt*; and affirm, that falling in Love with the Commander of their Ship, and finding herself with Child by him, she voluntarily departed, for fear of being detected by her Parents. These Things are said by the Persians and by the Phœnicians; and I shall not enter into a Dispute concerning the Truth of their Relations: But beginning with the Person who we are certain attack'd the Grecians unjustly without any Provocation, I shall proceed in my Narration, and give an Account, as well of the little Cities and Republicks, as of those of more Power and Extent. For many which are now small, were formerly great; and others, which are great at this Day, were once small and inconsiderable. Knowing therefore that human Prosperity cannot always continue in the same State, I shall speak of the one sort, as well as of the other.

*CRÆSUS*, by Birth a Lydian, and Son to *Alyattes*, was King of those Nations that are situate on this side the River *Halys*, which descending from the South, and passing Northward between the Syrians and Paphlagonians, falls into the *Euxin Sea*. He was the first of all the Barbarians we know, who render'd some of the Grecians tributary to him, and receiv'd others into his Alliance; for he subdued the Ionians and *Æolians*, with the Dorians that inhabit in *Asia*, and made the Lacedemonians his Friends: Whereas before his Reign, all the Grecians were free. For the Irruption of the Cimmerians into *Ionia* with an Army, which happen'd before the Time of *Cræsus*, ended not in the Destruction

tion of Cities; but only in Ravages, incident to a sudden Invasion. This Kingdom belong'd to the Heraclides, and pass'd into the Family of *Cræsus*, call'd Mermnades, in the following Manner.

*CANDAULES*, by the Grecians nam'd *Myrsilus*, being descended from *Alcæus* the Son of *Hercules*, was King of the Sardians; and as *Argon* the Son of *Ninus*, Grandson to *Belus*, and great Grandson to *Alcæus*, was the first of the Heraclides that reign'd in *Sardis*, so *Candaules* the Son of *Myrsus* was the last. Those who had been Kings of this Country before *Argon*, were descended from *Lydus* the Son of *Atys*, who gave his Name to the whole Nation, which before his Time were call'd Meones. Under these, the Heraclides descending from *Hercules* and a Slave of *Iardanus*, were educated; and having obtain'd the Kingdom by means of an Oracle, held it five hundred and five Years, during two and twenty Generations of Men, the Son always succeeding the Father, to the Time of *Candaules* the Son of *Myrsus*. This *Candaules* so passionately lov'd his Wife, that he thought her the most beautiful of all Women; and in this Persuasion extoll'd her Beauties above measure to *Gyges* the Son of *Dasylus*, who was one of his Guard, much in his Favour, and intrusted with his most important Affairs. But not long after, being mark'd out by Fate for Destruction, he open'd himself farther to *Gyges* in these Terms; “ Since thou seemest to me not  
 “ to believe the Things I have said concerning  
 “ the Beauty of my Wife, and because I know  
 “ the Eye to be a more proper Instrument of  
 “ Conviction than the Ear; I resolve thou shalt



## 6 HERODOTUS. Book I.

“ see her naked.” Gyges amaz’d at this Lan-  
 guage, cried out, “ What strange Disorder,  
 “ SIR, has possess’d your Mind, that you  
 “ should command me to view the Queen my  
 “ Mistress naked? For a Woman puts off her  
 “ Modesty with her Garments. Many excel-  
 “ lent Precepts have been convey’d down to  
 “ us by Men of former Ages, for our Instruc-  
 “ tion, and this one among the rest, *That*  
 “ *every Man should look into his own Affairs.*  
 “ As for me, I believe the Queen to be the  
 “ most beautiful of all Women; but I earnestly  
 “ desire you would not command me to do an  
 “ unlawful Thing.” Thus Gyges dreading lest  
 the Consequences should be fatal to him, en-  
 deavour’d to dissuade the King from his ill-  
 conceiv’d Design. But he, persisting in his  
 Resolution, replied in these Words; “ Be con-  
 “ fident, Gyges, and think not that I have said  
 “ this to make Trial of thee, nor fear the Re-  
 “ sentment of my Wife; for I will so contrive  
 “ the Matter that she shall never know she  
 “ was seen by thee. To this End I will place  
 “ thee behind the open Door of our Apartment;  
 “ into which my Wife will not fail to come,  
 “ so soon as she hears I am there; and as she  
 “ uses to undress at a Chair, where she lays  
 “ down her Garments one after another, she will  
 “ give thee Time to take a full View of her at  
 “ Leisure; only when thou shalt see her go-  
 “ ing to the Bed, with her Back turn’d towards  
 “ thee, be careful that she may not discover  
 “ thee afterwards repassing thro’ the Doors.”  
 Gyges finding all he could say to have no Ef-  
 fect, resolv’d to obey; and at the usual Hour  
 the King going to his Apartment, took Gyges  
 with

with him. The Queen came immediately after, and whilst she undress'd, and laid down her Cloaths, afforded *Gyges* a sufficient View of herself. But as she turn'd her Back to go towards the Bed, and *Gyges* endeavour'd at the same Time to retire, she saw him going out. And tho' she plainly perceiv'd that this was her Husband's Contrivance, Shame restrain'd her from making the least Exclamation: But she resolv'd within her self, to be reveng'd upon *Candaules*: For among the Lydians, and almost all barbarous Nations, 'tis a great Dishonour even for a Man to be seen naked. She pass'd the Night in a seeming Tranquility, and having suppress'd her Resentment till the Morning, sent some of the most faithful of her Servants to bring *Gyges* to her. He, not suspecting the Queen to be acquainted with what had pass'd, and being accusom'd to go to her as often as she sent for him, fail'd not to obey her Order. When he was come to her Chamber, she said to him; "*Gyges*, Two Ways lie before thee; chuse which thou wilt, for I leave the Choice to thy Discretion. Either kill *Candaules*, and take Possession of me, together with the Kingdom of *Lydia*, or resolve to die immediately; that by obeying *Candaules* without Reserve, thou may'st not hereafter behold what ought not to be seen by thee: For either the Contriver of this Thing must perish, or thou, who hast seen me naked, and been guilty of a criminal Action." *Gyges* at first stood amaz'd at these Words; and afterwards earnestly begg'd of her, that she would not drive him to the Necessity of making so hard a Choice. But when he saw he could not prevail,

prevail, and that he must either kill his Master, or die himself by the Hands of others, he chose to save his own Life. “ Since then, said he to the Queen, you compel me, against my Will, to kill my Master, let me know how we shall execute this Enterprize. ” “ From that very Place, *replied she*, where he expos’d me naked to thy View, thou shalt fall upon him as he sleeps. ” When they had thus concerted the Attempt, and Night came, *Gyges* plainly seeing he must either kill *Candaules*, or inevitably perish, because he had not been permitted to go out, follow’d the Queen to her Bedchamber; where she gave him a Dagger with her own Hand, and plac’d him behind the Door, as *Candaules* had done. After some Time he went softly to the Bed; kill’d the King as he slept, and possess’d himself of his Wife and Kingdom. He is mention’d in the Iambick Verses of *Archilochus* the Parian, who liv’d at the same Time. In this Manner *Gyges* obtain’d the Kingdom, and was confirm’d in his Acquisition by the Oracle of *Delphi*. For when the Lydians, highly resenting the Death of *Candaules*, had assembled together in Arms, an Agreement was at last concluded between them and the Soldiers of *Gyges*, that if the Oracle should pronounce him King of *Lydia*, he should be permitted to reign; if not, he should restore the Kingdom to the *Heraclides*. The Answer of the Oracle was favourable to *Gyges*, and he was universally acknowledg’d to be King. But the Pythian added this Clause; “ That the *Heraclides* should be aveng’d, in the Time of the fifth Descendant of *Gyges*; tho’ neither the Lydians nor their Kings had any

Regard



Regard to this Prediction, before it was actually accomplish'd. Thus the Mermnades depriv'd the Heraclides of the Sovereignty, and made themselves Masters of *Lydia*.

AFTER Gyges had obtain'd the Kingdom, he sent many Presents to *Delphi*; for he not only dedicated the greatest part of the Silver seen in that Place, but also made an Offering of a vast Quantity of Gold; among all which nothing better deserves to be remembred, than six Bowls of Gold, weighing thirty Talents, plac'd in the Treasury of the Corinthians; tho' to say the Truth, that Treasury was not founded by the People of *Corinth*, but by *Cypselus* the Son of *Ætion*. For this Cause Gyges is accounted the first of all the Barbarians we know, who dedicated Donations at *Delphi*; except only *Midas* the Son of *Gordius* King of *Phrygia*, who presented the Royal Tribunal from whence he us'd to administer Justice, which is a piece of Workmanship that deserves to be consider'd, and stands by the Cups of Gyges. The Gold and Silver, of which these Dedications consist, is call'd Gygian, from the Name of the Donor. He made War against *Miletus* and *Smyrna*, and took *Colophon* by Force; but as he perform'd no other memorable Action during all the Time of his Reign, which was eight and thirty Years, we shall content our selves with what we have said of him, and proceed to give some Account of *Ardyes* his Son and Successor; who took the City of *Priene*, and invaded the Territories of *Miletus*. In his Time the Cimmerians, who had been dispossest'd of their own Country by the Scythian Nomades, pass'd into *Asia*, and possess'd themselves of *Sardis*, the  
Fort

Fort only excepted. He reign'd forty nine Years, and his Son *Sadyattes* succeeded him, and reign'd twelve Years. *Alyattes* succeeding *Sadyattes*, made War upon *Cyaxares* Grandson of *Deioces*, King of the Medes. He expell'd the Cimmerians out of *Asia*; and having taken the City of *Smyrna*, founded by the Colophonians, he invaded the Territories of the Clazomenians. But not finding the Event answerable to his Desires, he was oblig'd to return with considerable Loss. He did many other Actions during his Reign, which deserve to be remembred in History. He continued the War which his Father had begun against the Milesians, and entering their Country, distress'd the Inhabitants in this Manner. When their Corn and Fruits were ripe, he took the Field with his Army, attended in his March with Pipes, Harps, and Flutes of both sorts; and advancing into the Territory of the Milesians, he neither demolish'd nor burnt their Country Houses, nor broke their Doors; but suffering all these to stand untouched, he cut down the Trees, destroy'd the Corn upon the Ground, and then return'd home; for he knew 'twas in vain to sit down before the City, because they were Masters of the Sea. He would not destroy their Houses, to the End that the Milesians having those Habitations, might apply themselves to sow and cultivate their Lands, and by that Means he might have something to ravage, when he should invade them with his Army. This War was thus manag'd eleven Years, during which the Milesians receiv'd two great Blows, one at *Limeneion* within their own Territories, and the other in the Plains of the *Mæander*. Six of these

these eleven Years *Sadyattes* the Son of *Ardyes*, who began the War, and invaded the Milesians with an Army, was King of the Lydians. But during the last five Years, the War was prosecuted with much more Vigour by his Son *Alyattes*. The Milesians had no Support all that Time from any of the Ionians, except the Chians only; who came to their Assistance, in Requit for the Succour they had receiv'd, when the Erythræans made War against them. In the twelfth Year, when the Army of *Alyattes* had set Fire to the Corn, the Wind happening to blow hard, carried the Flames to the Temple of *Minerva* at *Assesus*, and burnt it to the Ground. This Accident was little regarded at that Time; but after the Return of *Alyattes* with his Army, he fell sick at *Sardis*; and finding his Distemper not easy to remove, he sent to consult the Oracle of *Delphi*, touching his Condition; either mov'd by his own Judgment, or else by the Persuasion of others. However, when his Messengers arriv'd at *Delphi*, the Pythian told them she would give no Answer, 'till they should rebuild the Temple of *Minerva* at *Assesus* in the Country of the Milesians, which they had burnt. This Relation I had from the Delphians: And the Milesians add, that *Periander* the Son of *Cypselus* hearing what Answer had been made to *Alyattes*, dispatch'd a Messenger to *Thrasylbulus*, Tyrant of *Miletus*, and his particular Friend, with Advice to make the best Use he might of the present Conjunction; which, according to the Report of the Milesians, he effected in this Manner. When *Alyattes* had receiv'd Information of what had pass'd at *Delphi*, he sent Ambassadors



ambassadors to *Miletus*, with Orders to agree upon a Truce with *Thrasylbulus* and the Milesians, for all the Time the Temple should be rebuilding. But, *Thrasylbulus* having had the preceding Intelligence, and perceiving the Design of *Alyattes*, no sooner heard that the Ambassadors were coming, than he gave Order, that all the Corn which was in the City, either of his own or belonging to private Persons, should be brought into the Market, and that all the Inhabitants should eat and drink cheerfully together, upon a Signal to be given by him. This was done by the Contrivance of *Thrasylbulus*, to the End that the Sardinian Ambassadors seeing so great a Quantity of Corn, and the People every where diverting themselves, might make their Report accordingly, which happen'd as he design'd. For when the Ambassadors had seen these Things, and deliver'd their Message to *Thrasylbulus*, they return'd to *Sardis*; and this alone, as I am inform'd, was the Cause of the ensuing Peace; because *Alyattes*, who thought the People of *Miletus* were in extreme Want of Corn, receiv'd a quite contrary Account from his Ambassadors at their Return: By which means an Agreement was made between them, that for the future they should be good Friends and Confederates. Whereupon *Alyattes*, instead of one, having built two Temples at *Assesus*, dedicated to *Minerva*, recover'd his Health: And thus a Period was put to the War, which *Alyattes* made against *Thrasylbulus* and the Milesians.

P E R I-

*PERIANDER* the Son of *Cypselus*, who acquainted *Thrasylbulus* with the Answer of the Oracle, was King of *Corinth*: And the Corinthians say, that a most astonishing Thing happen'd there in his Time, which is also confirm'd by the Lesbians. Those People give out, that *Arion* of *Metbymna*, who was Second to none of his Time in playing on the Harp, and first Inventor of Dithyrambicks; both Name and Thing, which he taught at *Corinth*, was brought by a Dolphin to *Tænarus*; and thus they tell the Story: *Arion* having continu'd long with *Periander*, resolv'd to make a Voyage to *Italy* and *Sicily*, where when he had acquir'd great Riches, determining to return to *Corinth*, he went to *Tarentum*, and hir'd a Ship of certain Corinthians, because he put more Confidence in them than in any other Nation. But these Men, when they were in their Passage, conspir'd together to throw him into the Sea, that they might get his Money: Which he no sooner understood, than offering them all his Treasure, he only begg'd they would spare his Life. But the Seamen being inflexible, commanded him either to kill himself, that he might be buried ashore, or to leap immediately into the Sea. *Arion* seeing himself reduc'd to this hard Choice, most earnestly desir'd, that having determin'd his Death, they would permit him to dress in his richest Apparel, and to sing standing on the Side of the Ship, promising to kill himself when he had done. The Seamen highly pleas'd that they should hear a Song from the best Singer of the World, granted his Request, and went from the Stern to the middle of the Vessel. In the mean Time *Arion* having put on  
all

all his Robes, took up his Harp, and began an \*Orthian Ode; which when he had finish'd, he leap'd into the Sea as he was dress'd, and the Corinthians continued their Voyage homeward. They say, a Dolphin recciv'd him on his Back, from the Ship, and carried him to *Tænarus*; where he went ashore, and thence proceeded to *Corinth*, without changing his Cloaths; that upon his Arrival there, he told what had happen'd to him; but that *Periander* giving no Credit to his Relation, put him under a close Confinement, and took especial Care to find out the Seamen: That when they were found and brought before him, he inquir'd of them concerning *Arion*; and they answering, that they had left him with great Riches at *Tarentum*, and that he was undoubtedly safe in some part of *Italy*, *Arion* in that Instant appear'd before them in the very Dress he had on when he leap'd into the Sea; at which they were so astonish'd, that having nothing to say for themselves, they confess'd the Fact. These Things are reported by the Corinthians and Lesbians; in Confirmation of which, a Statue of *Arion*, made of Brass, and of a moderate Size, representing a Man sitting upon a Dolphin, is seen at *Tænarus*. *Alyattes* the Lydian having put an End to the Milesian War, died, after he had reign'd fifty seven Years. He was the second of his Family that

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\* Eustathius in his Commentary upon Homer, Pag. 827. of the Roman Edition, says, the Orthian Song was a kind of Ode contriv'd to inflame the Mind with a Desire of Fighting; and for a Proof adds, that Timotheus using that sort of Musick in the Presence of Alexander, forc'd him on a sudden to start up and run to his Arms.



made Offerings at *Delphi*; which he did upon the Recovery of his Health; dedicating a large Silver Ewer, with a Basin of Iron so admirably inlay'd, that 'tis justly esteem'd one of the most curious Pieces of Art among all the Donations at *Delphi*. This Basin was made by *Glaucus* the Chian, who first invented the Way of working Iron in that Manner.

AFTER the Death of *Alyattes*, his Son *Cræsus* having attain'd the Age of thirty five Years, succeeded him in the Kingdom, and made War upon the Ephesians, before he attack'd any other People of *Greece*. The Ephesians being besieg'd by him, consecrated their City to *Diana*, and tied their Walls by a Rope to her Temple, which was seven Stades distant from the ancient City, then besieg'd. When *Cræsus* had reduc'd the Ephesians, he attack'd the several Cities of the Ionians and Æolians one after another, under various Pretences, the best he could find, though some were exceedingly frivolous: And after he had compell'd all the Grecians of *Asia* to be tributary to him, he form'd a Design to build a Fleet, and by that means to invade the Islanders. But when all Things were prepar'd for the building of Ships, *Bias* of *Priene*, (or, as others say, *Pittacus* of *Mitylene*,) arriving at *Sardis*, put a stop to his intended Project. For *Cræsus* inquiring what News he had from *Greece*, receiv'd this Answer; "SIR, said he, the Islanders have bought up  
 " ten thousand Horses, with Intention to make  
 " War upon you, and to attack *Sardis*." *Cræsus* thinking he had spoken the Truth, "May  
 " the Gods, replied he, inspire the Grecians  
 " with a Resolution to attack the Lydians  
 " with

“ with Horse. ” “ It seems then, said *Bias*, you  
 “ would wish above all Things to see the Island-  
 “ ers on Horseback upon the Continent; and  
 “ not without Reason. But what can you  
 “ imagine the Islanders will more earnestly de-  
 “ sire, after having heard of your Resolution  
 “ to build a Fleet, in order to attack their  
 “ Islands, than to meet the Lydians by Sea;  
 “ and to revenge the Misfortune of those Gre-  
 “ cians, who have been enslav’d by you on the  
 “ Continent? ” *Cræsus* was so well pleas’d with  
 the Acuteness and Reason of this Discourse,  
 that he not only laid aside the Design of build-  
 ing a Fleet, but made an Alliance with all the  
 Ionians who inhabit the Islands. In the Course  
 of some Years, he became Master of all the  
 Nations that lie within the River *Halys*, ex-  
 cept only the Cilicians and the Lycians: That  
 is to say of the Lydians, the Phrygians, the  
 Mysians, the Mariandynians, the Chalybians,  
 the Paphlagonians, the Thracians, the Thyni-  
 ans, the Bithynians, the Carians, the Ionians,  
 the Dorians, the Æolians, and the Pamphyli-  
 ans. When these Nations were subdued, and  
 the Power of the Lydians was thus augmented  
 by *Cræsus*, many wise Men of that Time went  
 from *Greece* to *Sardis*, which had then attain’d  
 to the highest Degree of Prosperity; and among  
 others *Solon* of *Athens*, who having made Laws  
 for the Athenians at their Request, absented  
 himself from his Country, under Colour of  
 seeing the World, for the Space of ten Years,  
 that he might not be driven to the Necessity  
 of abolishing any of the Constitutions he had  
 establish’d. For the Athenians of themselves  
 could make no Alteration, having taken a so-  
 lem

lemn Oath to observe the Laws he had institut-  
 ed, during ten Years. With this Intention  
 therefore, and to see the State of Things abroad,  
*Solon* went first to the Court of *Amasis* King  
 of *Ægypt*, and afterwards to that of *Cræsus* at  
*Sardis*. *Cræsus* entertain'd him in his Palace  
 with all Humanity, and on the third or fourth  
 Day after his Arrival, order'd his Officers to  
 shew him the Wealth and Magnificence of his  
 Treasury ; which when *Solon* had seen and con-  
 sider'd, *Cræsus* said to him ; “ My Athenian  
 “ Guest, having heard much Discourse of your  
 “ Person ; of your Wisdom ; and of the Voy-  
 “ ages you have undertaken, as a Philosopher,  
 “ to see many Things in various Countries ; I  
 “ am very desirous to ask you, who is the most  
 “ happy Man you have seen ? ” This Question  
 he ask'd, because he thought himself the most  
 happy of all Men. But *Solon* resolving to speak  
 the Truth freely, without flattering the King,  
 answer'd, “ *Tellus* the Athenian.” *Cræsus* a-  
 stonish'd at his Answer, press'd him to declare  
 what Reasons he had so to extol the Happiness  
 of *Tellus*. “ Because, replied *Solon*, *Tellus* liv'd  
 “ in a well-govern'd Commonwealth ; had se-  
 “ veral Sons who were valiant and good ; his  
 “ Sons had Children like to themselves, and all  
 “ these surviv'd him ; in a Word, when he had  
 “ liv'd as happily as the Condition of human  
 “ Affairs will permit, he ended his Life in a  
 “ glorious manner. For coming to the Assist-  
 “ ance of his Countrymen in a Battle they  
 “ fought at *Eleusis* against some of their Neigh-  
 “ bours, he put the Enemy to flight, and died  
 “ in the Field of Victory. He was buried by  
 “ the Athenians at the publick Charge in the  
 C “ Place



“ Place where he fell, and was magnificent-  
 “ ly honour’d at his Funeral. ” When *Solon*  
 had said these and many other Things concern-  
 ing the Felicity of *Tellus*, *Cræsus* hoping at  
 least to obtain the second Place, ask’d, who of  
 those he had seen might be accounted next to  
 him? “ *Cleobis*, said he, and *Biton*, two Gre-  
 “ cians of *Argos*, possess’d of a plentiful For-  
 “ tune, and withal so strong and vigorous of  
 “ Body, that they were both equally victorious  
 “ in the Olympian Exercises. Of these ’tis re-  
 “ ported, that when the Argians were celebrat-  
 “ ing a Festival of *Juno*, and their Mother  
 “ was oblig’d to go to the Temple in a Cha-  
 “ riot drawn by a Yoak of Oxen, the two  
 “ young Men finding that the Oxen were not  
 “ brought time enough from the Field, and per-  
 “ ceiving that the Hour was past, put them-  
 “ selves under the Yoak; drew the Chariot in  
 “ which their Mother sat forty five Stades,  
 “ and brought her in that manner to the Tem-  
 “ ple. After they had done this in the View  
 “ of a great Concourse of People met together  
 “ to celebrate the Festival, a happy Period was  
 “ put to their Lives; and God determin’d by  
 “ this Event, that ’tis better for a Man to die  
 “ than to live. For when the Men of *Argos*,  
 “ who stood round, commended the Resolu-  
 “ tion of the two Brothers, and the Women  
 “ magnified the Happiness of the Mother of  
 “ such Sons, the Mother her self transported  
 “ with Joy by the Action and the Honours  
 “ she receiv’d on that Account, made it her  
 “ Petition as she stood before the Image of  
 “ the Goddess, that her Sons *Cleobis* and *Biton*  
 “ might be rewarded with that Thing which  
 “ was

“ was of most Advantage to Men. When  
“ she had finish’d her Prayer, and her Sons  
“ had sacrific’d and feasted with her, they fell  
“ asleep in the Temple, and awak’d no more.  
“ Upon which the Argians, in Commemora-  
“ tion of their Piety, caus’d their Statues to be  
“ made and dedicated at *Delphi*.” Thus *Solon*  
having adjudg’d the second Place of Felicity to  
*Cleobis* and *Biton*, *Cræsus* said with Indignation,  
“ Is my Condition then so contemptible in your  
“ Opinion, as not to be thought equal to that  
“ of private Men? ” “ *Cræsus*, said *Solon*,  
“ you ask me concerning human Affairs, and I  
“ answer as one who thinks that all the Gods  
“ are envious and Disturbers of Mankind. For  
“ in the Course of a long Life, Men are con-  
“ strain’d to see many Things they would not  
“ willingly see, and to suffer many Things they  
“ would not willingly suffer. Let us suppose  
“ the Term of Man’s Life to be seventy Years,  
“ which consist of twenty five thousand and  
“ two hundred Days, without including the  
“ Intercalatory Month ; and if we add that  
“ Month to every other Year, in order to fill  
“ up the just Measure of Time, we shall find  
“ thirty five Months more in the seventy Years,  
“ which make one thousand and fifty Days.  
“ Yet in all this Number of twenty six thou-  
“ sand two hundred and fifty Days, that com-  
“ pose these seventy Years, no one Day will be  
“ found like another. So that upon the whole  
“ Matter Mankind is a miserable Thing. You  
“ appear to me to be Master of immense Trea-  
“ sures, and King of many Nations ; but I can-  
“ not say that of you which you demand, ’till  
“ I hear you have ended your Life honourably.

“ For the richest of Men is not more happy  
“ than he that lives by the Day, unless his good  
“ Fortune attend him to the Grave, and he finish  
“ his Life in Honour. Many Men, who a-  
“ bound in Wealth, are unhappy ; and many,  
“ who have only a moderate Competency, are  
“ fortunate. He that abounds in Riches, and  
“ is yet unhappy, exceeds the other only in two  
“ Things ; but the other surpasses him in many  
“ more. The wealthy Man indeed is better  
“ furnish’d with Means to gratify his Passions,  
“ and to bear the Hatred of many. But if the  
“ other have not the same Power in these two  
“ Points, his good Fortune secures him from  
“ the Necessity of doing either the one or the  
“ other. He is free from Troubles ; free from  
“ Diseases ; his Looks are serene ; and he has  
“ good Children : And if all these Things come  
“ at last to be crown’d by a decent End, such a  
“ one is the Man you seek, and may justly be  
“ call’d happy. For to that Time we ought  
“ to suspend our Judgment, and not to pro-  
“ nounce him happy, but only fortunate. Now  
“ because no Man can possibly attain to this  
“ Perfection of Happiness ; as no one Region  
“ yields all good Things ; but produces some  
“ and wants others, that Country being ever  
“ esteem’d best, which affords the greatest Plen-  
“ ty : And farther, because no human Body is  
“ in all Respects self-sufficient ; but possessing  
“ some Advantages, is destitute of others ; he  
“ therefore, who, after he has most constantly  
“ enjoy’d the greatest Part of these, finishes the  
“ last Scene of Life with a decent Serenity of  
“ Mind, is in my Judgment truly a King, and  
“ justly deserves the Name of Happy. For  
“ Men



“ Men ought to observe the End of all Things;  
 “ because God frequently brings utter Destruc-  
 “ tion upon those he has shewn to the World  
 “ in the Height of Prosperity.” *Solon* having  
 said these Things to *Cræsus*, without the least  
 Flattery or Shew of Esteem, was dismiss’d, as a  
 Man of no Experience ; who without Regard  
 to present Prosperity, counsell’d Men to observe  
 the End of all Things.

AFTER the Departure of *Solon*, the Indig-  
 nation of the Gods fell heavy upon *Cræsus*, pro-  
 bably because he thought himself the most hap-  
 py of all Men ; and as he slept he had a Dream,  
 which pointed out to him the Misfortune that  
 was ready to befall him in the Person of one of  
 his Sons. For *Cræsus* had two Sons, of whom  
 one was dumb and unfit for any thing ; but  
 the other, whose Name was *Atys*, far surpass’d  
 all the young Men of his Age in rare Endow-  
 ments. His Dream represented to him his Son  
*Atys* mortally wounded with an Iron Lance :  
 So that when he awak’d, and had consider’d  
 the Thing, dreading the Consequence of the  
 Vision, he provided a Wife for his Son ; would  
 no longer permit him to lead the Armies of the  
 Lydians, as formerly he had done ; and caus’d  
 all the Spears, Lances, and other Weapons of  
 War, to be remov’d from the publick Rooms  
 where they hung, and laid up in private Cham-  
 bers, that none of them might fall upon his  
 Son. But when all Things were prepar’d for  
 the Marriage of *Atys*, a Phrygian arriv’d at *Sar-  
 dis*, of Royal Birth ; yet polluted with Blood,  
 and overwhelm’d with Affliction. This Man  
 coming to the Palace of *Cræsus*, desir’d he would  
 purify him according to the Rites of the Coun-  
 try ;

try ; which are almost the same in that respect among the Lydians as among the Grecians. *Cræsus* granted his Request, and having perform'd the usual Ceremonies, ask'd him whence he came, and who he was ; speaking to him in the following Terms : “ I desire to know who  
 “ thou art ; from what Part of *Phrygia* thou  
 “ art come hither ; and what Man or Woman  
 “ thou hast kill'd ? ” The Stranger made Answer ; “ I am, said he, the Son of *Gordius*,  
 “ Grandson to *Midas*, and my Name is *Adra-*  
 “ *stus*. I kill'd my Brother by Accident, and on  
 “ that Account am banish'd by my Father, and  
 “ dispossest'd of all.” “ I perceive, replied *Cræsus*, “ you are born of Parents who are our  
 “ Friends, and therefore I assure you of your  
 “ Welcome. If you will stay with us you shall  
 “ want nothing, and if you can bear your Mis-  
 “ fortune with Courage, you will be a great  
 “ Gainer.” So *Adrastus* resolv'd to stay in the Court of *Cræsus*.

AT this Time a Boar of a prodigious Bigness was frequently seen in *Mysia*, coming down from Mount *Olympus*, and destroying the Husbandry of the Inhabitants. The Mysians had often attack'd him, but always came off with Loss, and could not hurt him. At last they sent Deputies to *Cræsus*, who deliver'd their Message in these Words ; “ There is, O King, a monstrous  
 “ Boar in *Mysia*, that ravages all the Country ;  
 “ and tho' we have often endeavour'd to take  
 “ him, yet all our Attempts have been un-  
 “ successful. We therefore earnestly beg, that  
 “ you would send your Son and some other  
 “ chosen young Men with Dogs, that our  
 “ Country may be deliver'd from this pernicious  
 “ Beast.”

“Beast.” When they had spoken in this Man-  
 ner, *Cræsus* remembering his Dream answer’d;  
 “Make no farther Mention of my Son; for I  
 “shall not send him, because he is lately mar-  
 “ried, and therefore otherwise employ’d. But  
 “I will send the most skilful of the Lydians,  
 “with Dogs and all Things necessary for  
 “Hunting, and order them to assist you with  
 “their best Endeavours, to free your Country  
 “from the Boar.” The Mysians were not con-  
 tented with the Answer of *Cræsus*, and in that  
 Instant his Son arriv’d, and being inform’d of  
 their Request, and of his Father’s Denial to send  
 him with them, he address’d himself to the King  
 in this Manner. “Father, said he, in Time  
 “past, I was permitted to signalize my self in  
 “the two most noble and most becoming Ex-  
 “ercises, of War and Hunting; but now you  
 “keep me excluded from both, without having  
 “observ’d in me either Cowardice or Abjecti-  
 “on of Mind. What Regard will Men have  
 “for me when I appear in Publick? What will  
 “the People say? And what kind of Man  
 “will the Wife I have so lately married think  
 “me to be? Either suffer me to go and take  
 “Part in this Enterprize, or convince me that  
 “you have better Reason to detain me at  
 “home.” “My Son, answer’d *Cræsus*, the  
 “Resolution I have taken proceeds not from  
 “any thing I have observ’d in you, displeasing  
 “to me; but I have been admonish’d in a  
 “Dream that you shall not live long, and must  
 “die by the Wound of a Spear. For that  
 “Reason I hasten’d your Marriage, and now  
 “refuse to send you to this Expedition; because  
 “during my Life I would take all possible Care



“ to prevent the Danger that threatens you.  
 “ For I esteem you to be my only Son, and have  
 “ no Regard to the other, who is render’d use-  
 “ less by his Defects.” “ Indeed, replied the  
 Youth, “ I cannot blame you, if after such a  
 “ Dream you take so much Care to preserve my  
 “ Life: But because you have not discover’d the  
 “ true Meaning, give me leave to be your In-  
 “ terpreter. You say the Dream plainly signi-  
 “ fied that I should die by an Iron Lance:  
 “ But what Hand or what Lance has a Boar,  
 “ to create such Fears in you? Had your Dream  
 “ foretold I should lose my Life by a Tooth,  
 “ or something of like Nature, you ought then  
 “ to have done as you now do; but if I am to  
 “ die by a Lance, you may safely let me go,  
 “ because our Attempt is not to be made against  
 “ Men.” “ You have convinc’d me, said *Cræ-*  
*sus*, “ that you rightly understand my Dream;  
 “ and therefore changing my Resolution, I per-  
 “ mit you to undertake this Enterprize.” Thus  
*Cræsus* having given his Consent, call’d for *A-*  
*drastus* the Phrygian, and when he came into  
 his Presence, spoke to him in this Manner;  
 “ *Adrastus*, I receiv’d you in your Distress; I  
 “ purified you from Blood, and now entertain  
 “ you in my House at my Expence; which I  
 “ say, not to upbraid you with Ingratitude;  
 “ but having oblig’d you first by my Kindness,  
 “ I think it just you should make me some Re-  
 “ turn. I beg you would be my Son’s Guard  
 “ in this Expedition, and take Care that no  
 “ execrable Assassins may from their private  
 “ Haunts surprize and fall upon you by the Way.  
 “ Besides, you ought to go for your own Sake,  
 “ in order to signalize your self, and by your  
 “ Actions

“ Actions to imitate your Ancestors, because  
“ you are now in the Strength and Vigour of  
“ your Age.” *Adrastus* answer’d, “ No other  
“ Reasons, SIR, could induce me to take part  
“ in this Enterprize: For one in my unfortu-  
“ nate Circumstances ought not to appear, nor  
“ desire to appear among those of his own Years,  
“ who are innocent and unblemish’d; and there-  
“ fore I have often declin’d these Occasions al-  
“ ready. Nevertheless, because you so much  
“ desire it; and because I ought to shew my  
“ Gratitude for the Benefits I have receiv’d from  
“ your Hand, I am ready to obey your Order;  
“ and assure you no Care shall be wanting on  
“ my Part to bring home your Son in Safety.”

After *Adrastus* had made this Answer to *Cræsus*, they went away, attended by a chosen Company of young Lydians, and well furnish’d with Dogs for the Chace. When they arriv’d at Mount *Olympus*, they fought the Boar, and having found him, drew into the Form of a Circle, and from all Sides lanc’d their Javelins at him. Among the rest, the Stranger *Adrastus*, who had been already expiated for Blood, throwing his Javelin at the Boar, miss’d him, and struck the Son of *Cræsus*; by which Wound the Prediction of the Dream was accomplish’d. Upon this, a Messenger ran back to *Cræsus*, and arriving at *Sardis*, gave him an Account of the Action, and of his Son’s Fate; *Cræsus* violently disturb’d for the Death of his Son, bore the Disaster with the less Patience, because he fell by the Hand of one, whom he himself had purified from the Blood he had shed before; and with loud Complaints of the Indignity of his Misfortune, address’d himself to *Jupiter* the God of Expiation, attesting

attesting the Calamity brought upon him by this Stranger. He invoc'd the same Deity again, by the Name of the God of Hospitality and private Friendship: As the God of Hospitality, because by receiving a Stranger into his House, he had harbour'd the Murderer of his Son: As the God of Private Friendship, because he had entrusted the Care of his Son to one, whom he now found to be his greatest Enemy.

AFTER this, the Lydians arriving with the Body of *Atys*, *Adrastus*, who had kill'd him, follow'd; and coming into the Presence of *Cræsus*, plac'd himself before the Corpse, holding out both his Hands, and in that Manner surrendering his Person, begg'd of *Cræsus* to kill him upon the dead Body, acknowledging his former Misfortune, and saying he ought to live no longer, since he had taken away the Life of his Benefactor, who had purg'd him from Bloodshed before. When *Cræsus* heard this, tho' his own Affliction was above measure great, he pitied *Adrastus*, and said to him, "You have made  
 " me full Satisfaction by condemning your self  
 " to die. But no, *Adrastus*, you were not the  
 " Author of this Disaster, for you did the Fact  
 " unwillingly. But that God, whoever he was,  
 " that foretold my Misfortune, 'twas he that  
 " brought it upon me." *Cræsus* celebrated the Funeral of his Son, as the Dignity of his Birth requir'd: But *Adrastus*, who had kill'd both his Brother and his Benefactor, judging himself the most miserable of all Men; went to the Sepulchre in the dead of Night, and kill'd himself upon the Grave.

CRÆSUS



*C R Œ S U S* continued disconsolate for the Loss of his Son during two Years; after which, the Prosperity of *Cyrus* the Son of *Cambyfes*, who had dispossest's'd *Astyages* the Son of *Cyaxares* of his Kingdom, and the growing Greatness of the Persians, interrupted the Course of his Grief; and led him into a sollicitous Care, how he might destroy the Persian Power, before it should become more formidable by farther Successes. In these Thoughts he determin'd to make Trial of the Oracles of *Greece* and *Libya*; and to that End sent some Persons to *Delphi*, and to *Abe* a City of *Phocis*; others to *Amphiaraus* and *Trophonius*, and some to *Branchis* in the Territories of the Milesians. These were the Grecian Oracles, to which *Cræsus* sent; and at the same Time he dispatch'd other Men to consult that of *Ammon* in *Libya*; designing to try the several Oracles, and if they should be found to give a true Answer, in that Case to send again, to inquire whether he should make War against the Persians. Before he dismiss'd the Lydians on this Message, he order'd, that computing the Days from the Time of their Departure from *Sardis*, they should in one and the same Day make Trial of all the Oracles, by asking this Question; “What is *Cræsus* the Son of *Alyattes* King of *Lydia* now doing?” Commanding moreover, that they should bring him the Answer of each Oracle in Writing. What were the Answers given by the other Oracles, is mention'd by none: But the Lydians no sooner enter'd the Temple of *Delphi* to consult the God, and to ask the Question they had in Charge, than the Pythian thus spoke in Heroick Verse.

*I know*

*I know the Number of the Lybian Sands ;  
 The Ocean's Measure : I can penetrate  
 The Secrets of the Silent, or the Dumb.  
 I smell th' ascending Odour of a Lamb  
 And Tortoise in a brazen Cauldron boil'd :  
 Brass lies beneath, and Brass above the Flesh.*

The Lydians having receiv'd and written down this Answer of the Pythian, return'd to *Sardis*. And when the rest, who had been sent to other Places, were arriv'd, *Cræsus* open'd and view'd the Answers they brought, without being satisfied with any. But when he heard the Words of the Delphian Oracle, acknowledging the Truth they contain'd, he ador'd the God; believing that alone to be a real Oracle, which had discover'd the Thing he did at *Sardis*. For after he had sent the Lydians to consult the Oracles, bearing in Mind the Time that had been fix'd, he on that Day took a Lamb and a Tortoise, and boil'd them together in a Cauldron of Brass, which had a Cover of the same Metal; judging it an impossible Thing to imagine or guess at what he was doing. I can say nothing certain touching the Answer given to the Lydians by *Amphiaraus*, after they had perform'd the Ceremonies requir'd by the Custom of the Place: Only 'tis reported in general, that *Cræsus* imputed no Falshood to his Oracle. After these Things he offer'd magnificent Sacrifices to the Delphian God, consisting of three Thousand Head of Cattle; and thinking to render him yet more propitious, he brought out Beds of Gold and Silver; Vials of Gold; with Robes of Purple, and other rich Apparel, and  
 burnt

burnt all together on a Pile of Fire which he had prepar'd to that End; commanding all the Lydians to imitate his Example. In this Offering so great a Quantity of Gold was melted down, that one Hundred and seventeen Tiles were made out of it; of which the longest were six Palms in Length; the shortest three; and both sorts one Palm in Thickness. Four of these were of pure Gold, each weighing two Talents and a half; the rest were of a paler Gold, and weigh'd two Talents each. He also caus'd the Figure of a Lion to be made of fine Gold, weighing ten Talents; but while the Temple of *Delphi* was burning, the Lion fell down from the Tiles, on which it stood to that Time, and lies now in the Treasury of the Corinthians, reduc'd to the Weight of six Talents and a half, the rest having been melted off by the Fire. When these Things were finish'd, *Cræsus* sent them to *Delphi*, accompany'd with many other Donations, among which were two large Bowls, one of Gold and the other of Silver. That of Gold was plac'd on the right Hand as Men go into the Temple, and that of Silver on the left; but they were both remov'd when the Temple was burnt; and the golden Bowl, weighing eight Talents and a half and twelve Mines, is laid up in the Treasury of *Clazomene*; the other of Silver, containing six Hundred Amphoras, lies in a Corner of the Portico, and is us'd at *Delphi* for mixing the Wine on the Festival call'd *Theophania*. The Delphians say it was made by *Theodorus* the Samian; which I think probable, because to me it appears to be the Work of an uncommon Hand. He also presented four Vessels

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of



of Silver, which are plac'd in the Treasury of the Corinthians ; and gave two round Basins to contain the Holy Water us'd in the Temple, one of Gold, and the other of Silver. On the Basin of Gold is an Inscription, which attributes that Donation to the Lacedemonians ; but wrongfully ; for it was given by *Cræsus* ; though a certain Delphian, whose Name I know, and am not willing to mention, engrav'd those Words, in order to please the Lacedemonians. They gave indeed the Boy, through whose Hand the Water runs ; but neither the one nor the other of the Basins. At the same Time *Cræsus* sent many other Presents of less Value ; with divers round Dishes of Silver ; and the Image of a Woman, three Cubits high, which the Delphians say represents the Person that prepar'd his Bread : And to all these Things he added the Necklaces and Girdles of his Wife. These were the Donations he dedicated at *Delphi* ; and to *Amphiaraus*, on Account of his Virtue and Sufferings, he sent a Shield and a Spear, both of solid Gold, which remain to this Day at *Thebes* in the Temple of *Ismenian Apollo*.

WHEN the Lydians were upon their Departure, charg'd with these Presents for the two Oracles ; *Cræsus* commanded them to inquire of both, if he should undertake a War against the Persians, and if he should invite any other Nation to his Assistance. Accordingly arriving in the Places to which they were sent, they consulted the Oracles in these Words ;  
 “ *Cræsus* King of the Lydians and of other  
 “ Nations, esteeming these to be the only O-  
 “ racles among Men, sends these Presents in  
 “ Acknow-

“ Acknowledgment of the Thing you have  
 “ discover’d; and demands, whether he shall  
 “ lead an Army against the Persians, and whe-  
 “ ther he shall join any auxiliary Forces with  
 “ his own? ” To these Questions both the  
 Oracles gave a like Answer, and foretold, “ That  
 “ if *Cræsus* would make War upon the Persi-  
 “ ans, he should destroy a great Empire; ” coun-  
 selling him at the same Time to engage the most  
 powerful of the Grecians in his Alliance. When  
 these Answers were brought and reported to  
*Cræsus*, he became so elevated, that not doubt-  
 ing to destroy the Kingdom of *Cyrus*, he sent  
 more Presents to *Delphi*; and caus’d two Staters  
 of Gold to be distributed to each of the Inha-  
 bitants, whose Number he had already learnt.  
 In Consideration of which, the Delphians grant-  
 ed to *Cræsus* and the Lydians a Right to con-  
 sult the Oracle, and to be dismiss’d before any  
 other Nation; together with the first Place in  
 the Temple; and the Privilege of being made  
 Citizens of *Delphi*, to as many as should desire  
 it in all future Time.

*CRÆSUS* having made these Presents at  
*Delphi*, sent a third Time to consult the Oracle.  
 For after he had satisfied himself of the Oracle’s  
 Veracity, he was not sparing of his Questions.  
 His Demand now was, whether he should long  
 enjoy the Kingdom; to which the Pythian gave  
 this Answer,

*When o’er the Medes a Mule shall reign as King,  
 Learn thou the Name of Coward to despise;  
 And on thy tender Feet, O Lydian, fly  
 To stony Hermus, and his Fury shun.*

This

This Answer being brought to *Cræsus*, pleas'd him much more than those he had receiv'd before. For he presum'd that a Mule should never be King of the Medes, and consequently that neither he nor his Posterity should ever be depriv'd of the Kingdom. In the next place he began to consider how he might induce the most powerful of the Grecians to be his Confederates; and upon Inquiry found that the Lacedemonians and Athenians were the principal Nations of *Greece*, the first being of Dorian, and the other of Ionian Descent. They were in ancient Time esteem'd the most considerable, when they went under the Names of Pelasgians and Hellenians; of which the latter constantly continued in one Country, while the former very often chang'd their Seat: For under the Reign of *Deucalion* the Pelasgians inhabited the Country of *Pthiotis*; and in the Time of *Dorus* the Son of *Hellenes* possess'd that Region which is call'd *Istiaëotis*, lying at the Foot of the Mountains *Ossa* and *Olympus*. From thence being expell'd by the Cadmæans, they betook themselves to *Macednum* on Mount *Pindus*; which Place they afterwards abandon'd for another Settlement in *Dryopis*; and again changing their Country, came to inhabit in *Peloponesus*, where they were call'd Dorians. What Language the Pelasgians us'd I cannot certainly affirm; but if I may form a Conjecture by that which at present is spoken among those Pelasgians, who being now settled at *Crotona* beyond the Tyrrhenians, were formerly Neighbours to those call'd at this Day Dorians, and dwelt in *Thessaly* when the Pelasgians founded *Placia* and *Scylace* on the *Hellepont*, and liv'd in Society with the Athenians: If, I say,

adding



adding to these such other Pelasgian Cities as have alter'd their Name, I may be permitted to give my Conjecture, the Pelasgians spoke a barbarous Language. And if the whole Pelasgian Body did so; the People of *Attica*, who are descended from them, must have unlearn't their own Mother Tongue, after they took the Name of Grecians. For the Language of the Crotonians and of the Placians is the same; but different from that of all their Neighbours. By which it appears they have taken Care to preserve the Language they brought with them into those Places. But the Hellenians, as I think, have from the Time they were a People, us'd the same Language they now speak: And tho', when separated from the Pelasgians, they were at first of no considerable Force; yet from a small Beginning they advanc'd to a mighty Power, by the Conjunction of many Nations, as well Barbarians as others. Whereas on the other hand, the Pelasgians being a barbarous Nation, seem to me never to have risen to any considerable Grandeur.

*CRÆSUS* had heard that the People of *Attica*, one of these Nations, was oppress'd under the Tyranny of *Pisistratus* the Son of *Hippocrates* then reigning in *Athens*: To this *Hippocrates*, a strange Prodigy happen'd, while as a private Man he was present at the Olympian Exercises. For having kill'd a Victim, and put the Flesh with Water into a Cauldron, the Liquor boil'd over without Fire. *Chilon* the Lacedemonian, who was accidentally there, and saw the Prodigy, advis'd *Hippocrates* not to marry any Woman by whom he might have Children; or, if he was already married, to di-

D

vorce

vorce his Wife ; and if he had a Son, to abdicate him. But *Hippocrates* not persuaded by the Counsel of *Chilon*, had afterwards a Son, whom he brought up, and nam'd *Pisistratus*. After these Things, a Sedition happening between the Paralians led by *Megacles* the Son of *Alcmaeon*, and the Pedieans headed by *Lycurgus* the Son of *Aristolaides*; *Pisistratus* designing to make himself Tyrant, form'd a third Party, and having assembled his Partizans under Colour of protecting the Hyperacrians, contriv'd this Stratagem. He wounded himself and his Mules; and driving his Chariot into the publick Place, as if he had escap'd from Enemies that design'd to murder him in his Way to the Country, he besought the People to grant him a Guard, relying much on the Reputation he had acquir'd, as well in the Expedition of *Megara*, as by the taking of *Nisæa*, and other signal Successes. With these Pretences the People of *Athens* were deluded, and appointed some chosen Men of the City for his Guard, who were to attend him arm'd with Clubs, and not with Javelins. Nevertheless, by the Help of this Guard *Pisistratus* seiz'd the Acropolis, and then possess'd himself of the whole Power; yet he neither disturb'd the ancient Magistracies, nor alter'd the Laws; but leaving Things as they were, administer'd the Government with Order and Moderation. Notwithstanding which, the Parties of *Megacles* and *Lycurgus* being some Time after reconcil'd, join'd together and drove him out. In this Manner *Pisistratus* first made himself Master of *Athens*, and was disposs'd before his Power was well establish'd. But new Dissentions arising between  
those

those who expell'd him, *Megacles* weary of such Disorders, sent a Message to *Pisistratus*, offering him the Dominion of *Athens* if he would marry his Daughter. *Pisistratus* accepted the Proposition; and, in order to his Restitution, they two contriv'd the most ridiculous Project, that, I think, was ever imagin'd: Especially if we consider that the Grecians have long been accounted much more acute and free from all stupid Simplicity than the Barbarians; and that the Authors of this Contrivance were Athenians, who are esteem'd among the wisest of the Grecians. *Phya*, a Woman of the Pæanean Tribe, was four Cubits high, wanting three Digits, and in other Respects beautiful: This Person they dress'd in a compleat Suit of Armour; plac'd her on a Chariot; and having dispos'd all Things in such a Manner as might make her appear with all possible Advantage, they conducted her towards the City, sending Heralds before, with Order to speak to the People in these Terms; “ Give a  
 “ kind Reception, O Athenians, to *Pisistratus*,  
 “ who is so much honour'd by *Minerva* above  
 “ all other Men, that she her self condescends  
 “ to bring him back to her Acropolis.” When the Heralds had publish'd this in several Places, the Report was presently spread through the adjoining Parts, that *Minerva* was bringing home *Pisistratus*; and in the City the Multitude believing this Woman to be the Goddess, address'd her with Prayers, and readily receiv'd *Pisistratus*; who having thus recover'd the Tyranny, married the Daughter of *Megacles* in Performance of his Agreement. But because he had Sons already; and knew besides, that the Alcmaeonides were reported to be guilty of an unexpiated



Crime, he resolv'd to have no Children of this Marriage, and therefore would not use the Company of his new Wife according to Custom. The Woman for some Time conceal'd the Thing ; but afterwards, either mov'd by her Mother's Sollicitation, or other Reasons, discover'd it to her, and she to her Husband. *Megacles* highly relenting the Disgrace, and transported with Anger against *Pisistratus*, reconcil'd himself to the adverse Party ; which *Pisistratus* understanding to be done in Enmity to him, he withdrew quite out of the Country, and arriving in *Eretria*, consulted with his Sons about the State of their Affairs. In this Consultation the prevailing Opinion was that of *Hippias*, who advis'd to attempt the Reduction of *Athens*. Pursuant to whole Counsel, they solicited the Cities, where they had an Interest, to supply them with Money ; and many gave great Sums ; but the *Thebans* surpass'd the rest in Liberality. To be short, when all Things were ready for the Expedition, they were join'd by some Argian Troops which they had hir'd in *Peloponesus* ; and by *Lygdamis* a Naxian, who to their great Satisfaction came voluntarily in, and brought both Men and Money to their Assistance. In the eleventh Year of their Exile, departing from *Eretria* they arriv'd in *Attica*, and in the first Place possess'd themselves of *Marathon* : Where while they lay encamp'd, they were join'd not only by their seditious Partizans of the City ; but by great Numbers from the adjoining Parts, who were more fond of Slavery than of Liberty. On the other Hand, the Athenians had shewn very little Concern all the Time *Pisistratus* was soliciting for Money ; or even when he made himself

self Master of *Marathon*. But when they heard he was marching directly for *Athens*, they assembled all their Forces to defend themselves, and to repel the Invader. In the mean Time *Pisistratus* advancing with his Army from *Marathon*, arriv'd at the Temple of the Pallenian *Minerva*; and after they had plac'd their Arms before the Gates, *Amphilytus* a Prophet of *Acarmania*, by divine Impulse, went to him, and pronounc'd this Oracle in Hexameter Verse.

*The Net is spread, and dexterously thrown;  
By the clear Moonlight shall the Tunnies come.*

When the Prophet had deliver'd these Words, *Pisistratus* comprehending the Oracle, and saying he accepted the Omen, broke up with his Army. In the mean Time the Athenians having drawn their Forces out of the City, and taken their Dinner, betook themselves afterwards to Dice or Sleep. So that the Army of *Pisistratus* falling upon them by Surprise, soon put them to Flight; and as they were endeavouring to make their Escape, *Pisistratus* contriv'd an artful Stratagem, in order to disperse them so intirely, that they might not rally again. He commanded his Sons to ride before with Speed, and in his Name to inform all those they should overtake, that they had nothing to fear, and that every Man might return to his own Habitation. The Athenians readily embracing the Opportunity, *Pisistratus* took a third Time Possession of *Athens*; and establish'd himself more firmly in the Tyranny, partly by the Assistance of auxiliary Forces, and partly by Revenues collected at Home, or brought from the River

*Strymon.* He compell'd those who resisted in the Battle, and had not presently fled out of the Field, to deliver up their Sons to him as Hostages, and sent them to *Naxos*; which Island he had formerly conquer'd, and put into the Hands of *Lygdamis*. He likewise purified the Island of *Delos*, as he had been admonish'd by an Oracle; causing the dead Bodies to be taken up, and remov'd from all Places that lay within the Prospect of the Temple. In this Manner *Pisistratus* recover'd the Dominion of *Athens*; many of the Athenians having been kill'd in the Fight, and many others leaving the Country with the *Alcmæonides*.

*CRÆSUS* receiv'd Information that this was the present Condition of the Athenians; and that the Lacedemonians having extricated themselves out of great Difficulties, had been at last victorious against the Tegeans. For in the Time of *Leon* and *Hegeſicles*, Kings of *Sparta*, they were successful in all other Wars except only against that People. But before their Reign, they had been the most disorderly People of all *Greece*; without any good Correspondence either among themselves, or with Strangers; 'till better Orders and Discipline were introduc'd by *Lycurgus*, in this Manner. *Lycurgus*, who was a Man much esteem'd in *Sparta*, arriving at *Delphi* to consult the Oracle; no sooner enter'd the Temple, than the Pythian spoke these Words,

*Welcome, Lycurgus, to this happy Place;  
Thou Favourite of Heav'n: I doubting stand,  
Whether I shall pronounce Thee God or Man:  
Inclining yet to think thou art a God.*

Some



Some Men say, that besides this, the Pythian at the same Time communicated to him that Form of good Government, which is now observ'd in *Sparta*. But the Lacedemonians affirm, that *Lycurgus*, being both Uncle and Tutor to *Leobotes* King of *Sparta*, brought those Institutions from *Crete*. However, after he had undertaken the Guardianship, he alter'd all their Customs, and caus'd his own Regulations to be punctually obey'd. He form'd a Militia, divided into Companies under distinct Names; establish'd the Order of eating together in publick; and constituted the Ephori and the Senate: Which Change of Government was attended by such good Consequences, that the Lacedemonians built a Temple to *Lycurgus* after his Death, and paid him divine Honours. In a short Time, assisted by the natural Goodness of their Country, and Increase of their People, they grew considerable: And having attain'd to a great Measure of Prosperity, could be no longer contented to live in Peace; but thinking themselves more valiant than the Arcadians, sent to consult the Oracle of *Delphi*, touching the Conquest of all their Country, and receiv'd this Answer;

*To ask Arcadia is a high Demand:  
A hardy Race of Men defend that Land.  
But against Tegea if thou wilt advance,  
Upon her Plains thy sounding Feet shall dance;  
And with a Line thou shalt trace out the Soil.*

When the Lacedemonians heard the Report of their Messengers, they laid aside their Design against all *Arcadia*; and relying on this equivo-

cal Oracle, led an Army against *Tegea* only; carrying Fetters with them in their March, as if they had been sure of making all the *Tegeans* Prisoners. But coming to a Battle, they themselves were defeated, and all that were taken alive being bound with the same Fetters they brought, were compell'd to labour, and so to measure the Lands of the Country. Those Fetters were afterwards hung up by the *Tegeans* in the Temple of the *Haliæan Minerva*, and continued there to our Time. In this first War, which the *Lacedemonians* made against *Tegea*, they were always unprosperous; but in the Time of *Cræsus*, and during the Reign of *Anaxandrides* and *Ariston*, Kings of *Sparta*, they had better Success; by these Means: Having consider'd that they had always been beaten by the *Tegeans*, they sent to enquire of the Oracle at *Delphi*, what God they should address, in order to be victorious against that People. The *Pythian* answer'd, they should then be successful, when they should carry back the Bones of *Orestes* the Son of *Agamemnon*, to *Sparta*. The *Lacedemonians* not knowing where to find the Sepulchre of *Orestes*, sent again to inquire of the God in what Country he lay interr'd; and receiv'd this Answer by the Mouth of the *Pythian*:

*In the Arcadian Plains lies Tegea,  
Where two impetuous Winds are forc'd to blow:  
Form resists Form: Mischief on Mischief strikes.  
Here Mother Earth keeps Agamemnon's Son;  
Carry him off, and be victorious.*

The *Lacedemonians* having heard this Answer, were no less in Pain than before, tho' they us'd  
all

all possible Diligence in searching for the Sepulchre of *Orestes*: 'Till *Liches*, one of those Spartans who are call'd *Agathoergoi* (or well-deserving,) found it by an Accident. These *Agathoergoi* consist of Citizens who have serv'd in the Cavalry till they attain a considerable Age; and then five of the eldest are yearly exempted from that Duty; and that they may be still useful to the State, are sent Abroad during the first Year of their Dismission. *Liches* was one of these Persons, and his Prudence was not inferior to his good Fortune on this Occasion. For as the Lacedemonians had still the Liberty of going to *Tegea*, *Liches* was there at that Time; and entring one Day into the Shop of a Smith, attentively consider'd the Art of the Master in shaping his Iron: Which when the Artificer observ'd he ceas'd from his Work, and said; "You seem, Laconian Stranger, to  
 "admire my Work; but if you knew a cer-  
 "tain thing I know, you would be much more  
 "astonish'd. For as I was sinking a Well in  
 "this Inclosure, I found a Coffin seven Cubits  
 "long: And because I could not think that  
 "Men were ever of a higher Stature than in our  
 "Time, I open'd the Coffin, which I saw  
 "exactly fitted to the Body: And after I had  
 "taken the just Measure, I cover'd all again  
 "with Earth." *Liches* reflecting on his Discourse, conjectur'd from the Words of the Oracle, that this was the Body of *Orestes*; not doubting that the Smith's Bellows he saw, were the two Winds; the Anvil and Hammer the two contending Forms; and that the shaping of Iron was signified by the redoubled Mischiefs mention'd in the Oracle; because he imagin'd that  
 the



the Invention of Iron had been destructive to Men. Having consider'd these things, he return'd to *Sparta*, and gave the Lacedemonians an Account of the whole Matter ; which when they had heard, they contriv'd in Concert with *Liches*, to charge him with a fictitious Crime ; and under that Colour banish'd him. The Spartan arriving in *Tegea*, related his Misfortune to the Smith ; and hir'd the Inclosure of him, because he would not sell it. But after he had persuaded him, and inhabited there for some Time, he open'd the Sepulchre ; and having collected all the Bones, carried them away with him to *Sparta*. From that Time the Lacedemonians were always superiour in War to the Tegeans ; and besides, they had already subdued many Countries of *Peloponesus*.

*CROESUS* being inform'd of all these things, sent Ambassadors to the Spartans, with Presents, and Orders to desire their Alliance : Who when they were arriv'd, deliver'd their Message, as they were instructed, in these Words ; “ *Cræsus* “ King of the Lydians and of other Nations, “ having consulted the Oracle, has been ad- “ monish'd to make the Grecians his Friends ; “ and knowing you, O Lacedemonians, to be “ the principal People of *Greece*, has sent us to “ tell you, that in Obedience to the God he “ offers to become your Ally and Confederate “ without Fraud or Artifice.” The Lacedemonians, who had Notice of this Oracle before, were pleas'd with the coming of the Lydians, and readily enter'd into a League of Amity and mutual Assistance with *Cræsus* ; from whom they had formerly receiv'd some Kindness. For when they had resolv'd to erect that Statue of Gold to  
*Apollo,*

*Apollo*, which now stands at *Thornace* in *Laconia*, and dispatch'd certain Persons to purchase a sufficient Quantity at *Sardis*, *Cræsus* presented them with as much Gold as was necessary to that End. For which Cause, and the Honour he had done them in desiring their Friendship preferably to all the rest of the Grecians, they accepted the Offer of his Alliance ; engaging to be ready with their Forces whenever he should desire their Assistance. And that they might make him some other Return , they caus'd a Basin to be made of Brass, capable of containing three hundred Amphoras, and wrought all over the exterior Part with the Figures of various Animals, which they sent away in order to be presented to *Cræsus*. But the Basin never reach'd *Sardis*, for one of these two Reasons : The Lacedemonians on their part say, that the Samians being inform'd of their Design, fitted out divers long Ships ; and falling upon them in the Road of *Samos*, robb'd them of the Present. On the other hand the Samians affirm, that the Lacedemonians, who were charg'd with the Basin, came too late ; and hearing that *Sardis* was taken, and *Cræsus* himself made Prisoner, sold the intended Present at *Samos* to some private Persons, who dedicated it in the Temple of *Juno* : And that possibly when they were return'd to *Sparta*, they might say the Samians had taken it away.

IN the mean time *Cræsus* mistaking the Oracle, resolv'd to invade *Cappadocia* with an Army, in hope to destroy the Power of *Cyrus* and of the Persians ; and whilst he was preparing all things for his Expedition, a Lydian nam'd *Sandanis*, who before that Time was esteem'd a wise Man, and

and on this Occasion acquir'd a great Addition of Reputation, gave him Advice in these Words : " O King, you are preparing to make  
 " War against a People who have no other  
 " Cloathing than Skins ; who inhabit a barren  
 " Country ; and eat not the things they  
 " would chuse, but such as they can get. They  
 " use Water for Drink, and have neither Wine  
 " nor Figs, nor any delicious thing among  
 " them. What Advantage can you gain by  
 " the Conquest of so poor a People ? But if  
 " you are conquer'd, consider what your Condition will be. When they come to taste of  
 " our voluptuous Way of Living, they will establish themselves in this Country, and we shall  
 " never be able to drive them out. As for me,  
 " I thank the Gods that they have not inspir'd  
 " the Persians with Thoughts of attacking us." But all this was not sufficient to dissuade *Cræsus* from making War against the Persians, who before they conquer'd the Lydians, possess'd nothing either delicious or commodious.

THE Cappadocians, by the Grecians call'd Syrians, were subject to the Medes before the Establishment of the Persian Power ; and in the Time of this War were under the Dominion of *Cyrus*. For the Kingdoms of *Media* and *Lydia* are separated by the River *Halys*, which descending from the Mountains of *Armenia*, passes thro' *Cilicia* ; and leaving the Matienians on the Right and the Phrygians on the Left Hand, tends to the Northward, and divides the Syrians of *Cappadocia* from the Paphlagonians ; the former inhabiting on the Right, and the latter on the Left of that Stream. In this Manner the River *Halys* divides almost all the lower *Asia*, from the Cy-  
 prian



prian to the Euxin Sea, which is in Length as much as a strong Man can travel over in five Days. *Cræsus* was indeed very desirous to add the Country of *Cappadocia* to his own Territories ; but his Confidence in the Oracle, and great Inclination to revenge the Deposition of *Astyages* upon *Cyrus*, were the principal Causes that induc'd him to invade the Cappadocians. For *Cyrus* the Son of *Cambyfes* had defeated and taken *Astyages* the Son of *Cyaxares*, who was King of the Medes, and nearly related to *Cræsus* ; in the following Manner. Upon a Sedition which happen'd amongst the Scythian Nomades, a Party of them escap'd into *Media*, where *Cyaxares* the Son of *Phraortes*, and Grandson to *Deioces*, was then King ; who considering their Distress, receiv'd them at first with great Humanity ; and having entertain'd a good Opinion of them, entrusted to their Care divers Youths, to learn the Use of the Bow and the Scythian Tongue. These Strangers exercis'd themselves with frequent Hunting, and were ever accusom'd to return with Prey. But one Day, when they had taken nothing, and came back with empty Hands, *Cyaxares*, who, as plainly appear'd, was of a violent Temper, treated them with most opprobrious Language. The Scythians resenting this Usage with great Indignation, agreed among themselves to kill one of the Youths that were educated under their Care, and to prepare his Flesh for *Cyaxares* as they us'd to dress his Venison ; and then to make their Escape immediately to *Alyattes* the Son of *Sadyattes* King of *Lydia*. These things they executed as they design'd : *Cyaxares* and those who sat with him at the Table, tasted of the Flesh ; and the Scythians

thians flying to *Sardis*, implor'd the Protection of *Alyattes*. After this *Cyaxares* sent to demand the Scythians ; but not prevailing with *Alyattes* to deliver them up, he made War against him five Years with various Success, the Medes sometimes defeating the Lydians, and sometimes being defeated by them ; during which time, they fought once by Night. In the sixth Year, things being hitherto well near equal on both sides, they came to another Battle, and whilst they were contending for Victory, the Day was suddenly turn'd into Night ; which Alteration *Thales* the Milesian had foretold to the Ionians, and nam'd the Year when it should happen. The Lydians and Medes seeing Darkness succeeding in the Place of Light, desisted from fighting, and shew'd a great Inclination on both sides to make Peace. *Syenneſis* of *Cilicia*, and *Labyneſus* the Babylonian were the Mediators of their Reconciliation: And because important Agreements require strong Securities, they not only oblig'd them to confirm the Treaty by Oath, but persuaded *Alyattes* to give his Daughter *Aryenis* in Marriage to *Aſtyages* the Son of *Cyaxares*. These Nations in their Federal Contracts observe the same Ceremonies as in *Greece* ; except only, that both Parties cut themselves on the Arm till the Blood gushes out, and then mutually lick it from the Wounds.

W H E N *Cyrus* had conquer'd and confin'd *Aſtyages* his Grandfather by the Mother, for Reasons which I shall hereafter relate, *Croesus* was so much offended with him, that he sent to consult the Oracle, if he should make War against the Persians ; and having receiv'd an illuſory Answer, which he interpreted to his own

I

Advantage,

Advantage, he led his Army towards their Territories. When he arriv'd at the River *Halys*, he caus'd his Forces to pass over, as I believe, by Bridges which were then built. But the common Opinion of the Grecians is, that *Thales* the Milesian procur'd him a Passage by other Means. For, say they, whilst *Cræsus* was in great Pain how his Army should pass over the River, on which no Bridges were then built, *Thales*, who was in his Camp, caus'd the Stream which ran along the Left of the Army, to pass likewise on the Right by this Invention. They began a deep Trench by his Direction at the Head of the Camp, which they carried round by the Rear in the Form of a Halfmoon to the antient Channel ; and the Stream being thus suddenly divided, was found fordable in both Parts. Some say, that the antient Channel of the River became quite dry ; but I cannot assent to their Opinion: For how then could those repass, who return'd from that Expedition ? However, *Cræsus* having pass'd the River, enter'd with his Army into the Country of *Pteria*, the most populous Part of *Cappadocia*, and lying near the City of *Sinope*, which is situate on the Euxin Sea. Encamping in that Region he ravag'd the Lands of the Syrians ; took the chief City of the Pterians, which he pillag'd, with all the adjacent Places, and expelled the Inhabitants, who had given him no Cause of Discontent.

*CYRUS* being inform'd of these things, assembled his Army, and taking with him the Forces of those Countries thro' which he was to pass, resolv'd to march towards the Enemy. But before he began to advance, he sent Heralds  
to



to the Ionians, to persuade them to revolt from *Cræsus*, and receiv'd a positive Denial. When he arriv'd within view of the Enemy, he encamp'd in the Territories of *Pteria*, and after several Skirmishes, the two Armies came to a bloody Battle ; which continued with great Slaughter on both sides, till Night parted them, and left it undetermin'd who had the better. But *Cræsus* being dissatisfied to see his Forces much inferior in number to those of *Cyrus*, as indeed they were, and finding nothing attempted against him the Day after the Battle, retir'd to *Sardis* with his Army, designing to send to the *Ægyptians* for Succour, pursuant to the Confederacy he had made with *Amasis* King of *Ægypt*, before he treated with the Lacedemonians. In like manner, because the Babylonians, with their King *Labynetus*, were also his Allies, he resolv'd to require their Assistance, and to fix a Time for the coming of the Lacedemonians ; determining with these Forces and his own to attack the Persians in the Beginning of the next Spring. With this Design he return'd Home ; and after he had dispatch'd Ambassadors to his Confederates to require them to send their Forces to *Sardis* before the End of five Months, he separated his Army which had fought against the Persians, and sent Home all the foreign Troops ; not imagining that *Cyrus*, who had not been able to beat him in the Field, would venture to advance to *Sardis*. While these things were in Agitation, a great Number of Serpents were seen in the Lands about *Sardis* ; which when the Horses found, they left their Pasture, and eat as many as they could take. *Cræsus*, not without Reason, thinking this to

be a Prodigy, sent to consult the Interpreters at *Telmiffus* by certain Persons, who arriving in that Place, receiv'd the Answer of the *Telmiffians* ; but could not deliver it to *Cræsus*, because he was taken Prisoner before they return'd to *Sardis*. The Interpretation of the *Telmiffians* was, that the Kingdom of *Cræsus* should soon be invaded by a foreign Army, which should conquer the Natives ; because, said they, the Serpent is a Son of the Earth, and the Horse is an Enemy and a Stranger. This Answer they gave after the Disaster of *Cræsus* ; yet without knowing what had happen'd to him and to *Sardis*.

*CYRUS* being inform'd that *Cræsus* was retir'd after the Battle of *Pteria*, with Design to separate his Army, call'd a Council, and resolv'd to march with all possible Expedition to *Sardis*, that he might surprize the Enemy, before the Lydian Forces could be drawn together ; which Resolution was executed with so great Diligence, that *Cyrus* himself at the Head of his Army brought thither the News of his own Enterprize. *Cræsus*, tho' extremely allarm'd at an Attempt which he neither foresaw nor expected, drew out the Lydians into the Field, who in that Time were as brave and warlike a People as any other of all *Asia*. They fought on Horseback arm'd with strong Lances, and manag'd their Horses with admirable Address. The Place where they assembled was a spacious Plain, lying before the City, and water'd by divers Rivers, particularly by the *Hellus*, which runs into the greatest of all call'd the *Hermus*. This River descending from a Mountain, sacred to *Cybele* Mother of the Gods, falls into the Sea

F. near

near the City of *Phocia*. *Cyrus* seeing the Lydians drawn up in Order of Battle, and apprehending the Efforts of their Horse, by the Suggestion of *Harpagus* a Mede made use of this Stratagem. He order'd all the Camels that follow'd the Army with Provisions and Baggage, to be brought together; and having caus'd their Loading to be taken down, commanded Men cloath'd after the manner of the Cavalry to mount those Animals, and to march in the Van of his Forces against the Lydian Horse. Behind the Camels he plac'd his Infantry, and all his Cavalry in the Rear. And having made this Disposition, he gave out strict Order thro' the whole Army, not to spare any Lydian they should meet, *Cræsus* only excepted, whom they were forbidden to kill, even tho' he should resist single. *Cyrus* plac'd the Camels in the Front of his Army, in order to render useless the Enemies Cavalry, by which the Lydian hop'd to obtain a glorious Victory; for a Horse is afraid of a Camel, and cannot bear either to see or smell him. Accordingly the Battle no sooner began, than the Horses, impatient of the Scent and Sight of the Camels, turn'd their Heads and ran away; which *Cræsus* observing, gave all his Hope for lost. Nevertheless the Lydians, who perceiv'd the Cause of what had happen'd, were not presently discourag'd, but dismounting from their Horses, renew'd the Fight on Foot; till at last after an obstinate Dispute, in which great Numbers fell on both sides, they fled to *Sardis*, and shutting themselves up within the Walls of the City, were soon besieg'd by the Persians.

*CRÆSUS*



*CRÆSUS* thinking the Siege would be long, sent again to his Allies, and in Place of desiring their Assistance within five Months, solicited them to succour him with all Expedition, because he was already besieg'd in *Sardis*. Among the rest of his Confederates, he sent to the Lacedemonians; who at the same Time had a Contest with the Argians, about the Country of *Thyrea*, which the Spartans had seiz'd, tho' of Right belonging to *Argos*. And indeed, whatever lies Westward of that City, even to *Malea*, on the Continent, together with *Cythera*, and the other Islands, belongs to the Argians. This Affair depending, the Argians advanc'd with their Forces to recover *Thyrea*; but upon a Conference, the contending Parties agreed, that three Hundred Men on each side should determine the Dispute by Combat, and the Country be adjudg'd to the victorious. Yet in the first place, both Armies were to depart, lest either Side finding their Countrymen in Distress, might come in to their Assistance. This Agreement being made, and the Armies retir'd, the Fight began; and was maintain'd with such equal Valour, that of the six Hundred, three Men only were left alive: Neither had these all surviv'd, if Night coming on had not sav'd them. Two of the three were Argians, *Alcinor* and *Chromius* by Name, who thinking themselves victorious ran to *Argos* with the News. But *Othryades*, the only Survivor on the Part of the Lacedemonians, after he had collected the Spoil of the Argians, and carried all their Arms into the Spartan Camp, continued in the Field. The next Day both Armies being inform'd of the Event, met again in the same Place, and both laid

Claim to the Victory. The Argians alledg'd, that they had more than one left alive. But the Lacedemonians urg'd, that the surviving Argians ran away ; and that their Countryman alone had kept the Field and pillag'd the dead. From Words they betook themselves to their Arms ; and after a bloody Fight, in which many were kill'd on both Sides, the Lacedemonians obtain'd the Victory. Upon this Disaster, the Argians cutting off their Hair, which to that Time they had been oblig'd to wear of a considerable Length, agreed to a Law, and made a solemn Vow, that they would not suffer their Hair to grow long, nor permit their Women to dress with Ornaments of Gold, 'till they should recover *Thyrea*. On the other Hand, the Lacedemonians made a contrary Order, enjoining all their People to wear long Hair, which they had never done before. As for *Othryades*, who was the only surviving Spartan of the three Hundred, they say, he kill'd himself at *Thyrea*, ashamed to return home after the Slaughter of all his Companions.

THE Affairs of the Lacedemonians were in this Condition, when the Sardinian Ambassador arriving in *Sparta*, pray'd their Assistance on the Part of *Cræsus*, who was besieg'd in *Sardis*; which they no sooner heard, than they resolv'd to succour him. But when they had made ready their Ships, and prepar'd all Things for the Expedition, they were inform'd by another Message, that the City of *Sardis* was taken, and *Cræsus* himself made Prisoner; which they took for a great Misfortune, and desisted from their Enterprize. The City of *Sardis* was taken in this Manner. On the fourteenth Day of the Siege,  
*Cyrus*

*Cyrus* order'd Proclamation to be made by Men on Horseback throughout his Camp, that he would liberally reward the Man who should first mount the Enemies Walls: Upon which several Attempts were made, and as often fail'd; 'till, after the rest had desisted, one *Hyræades* a Mardian found a Way to climb an Ascent on that Side of the Castle, which having been always judg'd impracticable and secure from all Attacks, was not defended by any Guard. To this Part alone of all the Fortifications, *Males* a former King of *Sardis*, never brought his Son *Leo*, whom he had by a Concubine; though the *Telmiffians* had pronounc'd, that if he were carried quite round the Works, *Sardis* should be for ever impregnable; but having caus'd him to be brought to every other Part of the Place, totally neglected this, which faces the Mountain *Imolus*, as altogether insuperable and inaccessible. *Hyræades* the Mardian had seen a Lydian come down this Precipice the Day before, to take up a Helmet that was drop'd; and after he had attentively observ'd and consider'd the Thing, he ascended the same Way, follow'd by divers Persians; and being soon supported by greater Numbers, the City of *Sardis* was thus taken and plunder'd.

*CRÆSUS*, as I have already said, had a Son who was dumb, though in all other Respects commendable; and as in the Time of his Prosperity, he omitted nothing that might contribute to deliver him from that Infirmary, among other Experiments, he sent to consult the Oracle of *Delphi* concerning him, and receiv'd this Answer from the Pythian;



*O too imprudent Lydian! Wish no more  
The charming Sound of a Son's Voice to hear:  
Better for thee, could Things rest as they are;  
For in an evil Day he first shall speak.*

Upon the taking of the City, a certain Persian not knowing *Cræsus*, advanc'd to kill him; and when he, not caring to survive that Disaster, neglected to avoid the Blow, his speechless Son, seeing the Soldier ready to strike, and fearing for the Life of his Father, in that Instant cried out, *Man, kill not Cræsus*. These were the first Words he ever utter'd; but from that Time he continued to speak readily during all the rest of his Life. In this manner the Persians became Masters of *Sardis*, and made *Cræsus* their Prisoner; who having reign'd fourteen Years, and been besieg'd fourteen Days, put an End to his great Empire, as the Oracle had predicted.

THE Persians having taken *Cræsus*, and brought him to *Cyrus*, he commanded him to be fetter'd, and plac'd on a great Pile of Wood already prepar'd, accompanied by fourteen young Lydians: Designing either to offer this Sacrifice to some God, as the first Fruits of his Victory; or to perform a Vow; or perhaps to see, because he had heard of his Devotion to the Gods, whether any *Demon* would save him from the Fire. When *Cræsus* had ascended the Pile, notwithstanding the Weight of his Misfortunes, the Words of *Solon* reviving in his Memory, made him think he was inspir'd by some God, when he said, that no living Man could justly be call'd Happy. Revolving these Words in his Mind, he

he sigh'd often in the Anguish of his Soul, and thrice pronounc'd the Name of *Solon*. Which when *Cyrus* heard, he commanded his Interpreters to ask him, whose Assistance he implor'd. They obey'd immediately; but *Cræsus* for a while kept Silence; yet at last being constrain'd to speak, he said, "I nam'd a Man, whose Discourses I more desire all Tyrants might hear, than to be Possessor of the greatest Riches." The Interpreters judging this Answer obscure, repeated their Demand; and persisting in their Importunity, press'd him earnestly to explain his Meaning. Upon which *Cræsus* acquainted them, that *Solon* an Athenian having formerly visited him, and view'd his immense Treasures, had despis'd all; and that the Truth of what he then said was now verified, though his Discourse was generally relating to all Mankind as much as to himself, and especially to those who vainly imagine themselves happy. After *Cræsus* had said these Words, and the Flames began to ascend on every Side, *Cyrus*, already inform'd by the Interpreters, of what he had said, relented on a sudden; and considering that being but a Man, he was yet going to burn another Man alive, who had been no way inferior to himself in Prosperity; and fearing a Retaliation of Punishment, as one who was not ignorant of the Inconstancy of human Affairs; he commanded the Fire to be presently extinguish'd, and *Cræsus*, with those who were about him, to be taken down. Accordingly all Endeavours were us'd to execute his Orders; but they could not master the Fire. In this Distress, *Cræsus*, as the Lydians report, being inform'd that *Cyrus* had alter'd his Resolution, and see-

ing every Man toiling in vain to put out the Fire, burst into Tears; and with a loud Voice invoking *Jupiter*, besought the God, if ever any of his Offerings had been agreeable to him, to protect and deliver him from the present Danger: That immediately Clouds were seen gathering in the Air, which before was serene, and a violent Storm of Rain ensuing, quite extinguish'd the Flames; by which *Cyrus* understanding that *Cræsus* was a good and pious Man, spoke to him as soon as he came down, in these Terms. “ Tell me, *Cræsus*, who persuaded you to invade my Territories, and to be my Enemy, rather than my Friend? ” “ This War, said *Cræsus*, as fortunate to you, O King, as unfortunate to me, I undertook by the Persuasion and Encouragement of the Grecian God. For no Man is so void of Understanding to prefer War before Peace; because in Time of War Fathers bury their Children, and in Time of Peace Children perform that Office to their Parents. But such was the Will of the *Dæmon*. ” When he had thus spoken, *Cyrus* commanded his Fetters to be taken off; and permitting him to sit down by his Side, shew'd him great Respect; for both he and all those that stood about him, were astonish'd at the Things they had seen and heard. *Cræsus* sat for some Time pensive and silent. But afterwards turning about, and seeing the Persians sacking the City, he ask'd *Cyrus*, whether he might speak with Freedom, or whether he ought to suppress his present Thoughts; *Cyrus* bid him take Courage, and deliver his Opinion freely; upon which *Cræsus* ask'd him, what those great Numbers were now doing with  
so



so much Diligence. “ They are, said *Cyrus*,  
 “ pillaging your City, and destroying your  
 “ Riches and Magnificence.” “ Not so, re-  
 plied *Cræsus*, “ they neither plunder my City,  
 “ nor destroy my Riches: For I have now no  
 “ Part in those Things; but they ravage and  
 “ consume what belongs to you.” This An-  
 swer made such an Impression on *Cyrus*, that  
 taking *Cræsus* aside, he ask’d him privately,  
 what he thought should be done in this Con-  
 juncture? “ Since the Gods, said *Cræsus*, have  
 “ made me your Servant, I am in Duty oblig’d  
 “ to acquaint you with all that may conduce to  
 “ your Advantage. If you permit the Persians,  
 “ who are poor, and by Nature insolent, to  
 “ plunder and possess great Riches; you may ex-  
 “ pect that those who enrich themselves most,  
 “ will be most ready to rebel. Therefore, if  
 “ you approve my Sentiment, place some of  
 “ your Guards at every Gate, with Orders to  
 “ take the Booty from all those who would go  
 “ out, and to acquaint them that the Tenth  
 “ must of Necessity be consecrated to *Jupiter*:  
 “ By which Method you will avoid the Impu-  
 “ tation of seizing their Plunder by Violence;  
 “ and every one acknowledging your Intention  
 “ to be just, will readily obey.” *Cyrus* having  
 heard the Proposition of *Cræsus* with great Sa-  
 tisfaction, and intirely approving his Counsel;  
 commanded the Guards to do as he advis’d;  
 and then turning to him again, said; “ Because  
 “ both your Words and your Actions are truly  
 “ Royal, I permit you to ask immediately  
 “ whatever Thing you chiefly desire.” “ Sir,  
 said *Cræsus*, “ the most acceptable Favour you  
 “ can bestow upon me, is, to let me send my  
 “ Fetters

“ Fethers to the God of the Grecians, whom  
 “ I have honour’d more than any other Deity ;  
 “ and to ask him, if it be his Manner to de-  
 “ ceive those who deserve best of him.” *Cy-  
 rus* ask’d what Cause he had to complain of the  
 God, that might induce him to make this Re-  
 quest : Upon which *Cræsus* recollecting all his  
 Thoughts on that Subject, gave him an Ac-  
 count of the Answers he receiv’d from the Ora-  
 cles, and of the Donations he had presented ;  
 in Confidence of which he had made War a-  
 gainst the Persians ; beseeching him again to  
 grant him Leave to reproach the God with  
 these Things. *Cyrus* laughing, assur’d him he  
 would not only grant this, but whatever else  
 he should desire : Which *Cræsus* hearing, dis-  
 patch’d certain Lydians to *Delphi*, with Orders  
 to lay down his Fethers at the Entrance of the  
 Temple, and to demand of the God, if he were  
 not asham’d to have encourag’d *Cræsus* by his  
 Oracles, to believe that by undertaking a War  
 against the Persians, he should destroy the Power  
 of *Cyrus* : Commanding them after these Words  
 to shew the Fethers, as the Trophies of his pro-  
 mis’d Success, and to ask if the Grecian Gods  
 were accusom’d to be so ungrateful. When  
 the Lydians arriv’d at *Delphi*, and had put his  
 Orders in Execution, the Pythian is reported  
 to have made this Answer : “ The God himself  
 “ cannot avoid the predetermin’d Decrees of  
 “ Fate ; and *Cræsus*, in the fifth Generation,  
 “ suffers for the Crime of a Man, who being  
 “ one of the Guard to the last King of the  
 “ Blood of *Hercules*, was induc’d by the Fraud  
 “ of a Woman to murder his Master, and to  
 “ usurp his Dignity, to which he had no Right.  
 “ Yet

“ Yet *Apollo* us'd his best Endeavours, that the  
“ Disaster of *Sardis* might be suspended to the  
“ Time of his Sons, and not happen during the  
“ Reign of *Cræsus*: And though he could not  
“ set aside the fatal Decree; yet he had done as  
“ much in his Favour as that would permit;  
“ having delay'd the Subversion of his King-  
“ dom for three Years. And therefore let *Cræ-*  
“ *sus* know, that he was taken Prisoner three  
“ Years later than the Fates had ordain'd. In  
“ the next Place, when he was upon the Point  
“ of being burnt alive, the God came in to his  
“ Relief. Then, as to the Prediction of the  
“ Oracle, he has no Right to complain; be-  
“ cause *Apollo* only foretold, that if he would  
“ make War against the Persians, he should sub-  
“ vert a great Empire; and had he desir'd to be  
“ truly inform'd, he ought to have sent again to  
“ enquire, whether his own or that of *Cyrus* was  
“ meant by the Oracle. But if he neither com-  
“ prehended the Meaning of the Oracle, nor  
“ would enquire again, the Fault is his. In a  
“ Word, he did not understand the Answer he  
“ receiv'd concerning the Mule, when he last  
“ consulted the God; for *Cyrus* was that Mule,  
“ inasmuch as he was born of Parents, who  
“ were not only of different Nations, but of  
“ very unequal Condition: For his Mother was  
“ a Mede, and Daughter to *Astyages* King of  
“ *Media*; but his Father was of *Persia*, a Coun-  
“ try then subject to the Medes; and being eve-  
“ ry way inferior to her, had married his Lord's  
“ Daughter. ” The Lydians having receiv'd  
this Answer from the Pythian, return'd, and  
made their Report to *Cræsus*; who acknowledg'd  
the Fault to be his, and that the Oracle was  
wholly



wholly innocent. In this manner the Kingdom of *Cræsus* was conquer'd, and *Ionia* the first time subdued.

MANY other Donations were consecrated by *Cræsus* in *Greece*, besides those already mention'd. For at *Thebes* of *Bæotia* he dedicated a Tripod of Gold to *Iliumenian Apollo*: At *Ephesus*, he gave the golden Heifers, with the greater Part of the Pillars; and sent a large Shield of Gold to *Delphi*, which hangs in the Entrance of the Temple. All these remain to this Day; but others have been lost. The Offerings he dedicated in *Branchis*, a City belonging to the Milesians, were, as I am inform'd, equal in Weight to those he presented at *Delphi*. These last, together with those he sent to *Amphiaraus*, were the first Fruits of his domestic and patrimonial Riches. But the rest arose out of the Confiscations of an Enemy; who endeavouring to put the Kingdom of *Lydia* into the Hands of *Pantaleon*, form'd a Party against *Cræsus*, to hinder his Accession to the Throne. *Pantaleon* was the Son of *Alyattes*, and Brother to *Cræsus*, though not born of the same Mother; for *Alyattes* had *Cræsus* by a Carian, and *Pantaleon* by an Ionian Woman. But when *Cræsus* obtain'd the Kingdom, pursuant to the Designation of his Father, he kill'd the Conspirator in the House of a Fuller, and having already vow'd all his Treasure to the Gods, he perform'd his Promise by the Donations he made to the Places I mention'd before. And this I think sufficient to say touching these Things.

THE Territories of *Lydia* have nothing admirable and deserving Mention, like other Countries; unless some Particles of Gold brought down

down from the Mountain *Imolus*. But the Lydians shew one Building, which in Greatness much surpasses all others, except those of the Ægyptians and Babylonians : I mean the Sepulchre of *Alyattes*, Father to *Cræsus* ; the Basis of which is compos'd of Stones of extraordinary Dimensions, and all the rest is a Terrass. This Fabrick was built by Artificers and mercenary Labourers, with the Assistance of young Maids ; and on the uppermost part of the Sepulchre five Monuments are plac'd for Boundaries, with Inscriptions seen to this Day, certifying the Measure of their Labour, and shewing that the Maids did more Work than the Men. The Daughters of the Lydians are accustom'd to acquire their Dowries by Prostitution ; and are then permitted to marry as they please. This Sepulchre is six Stades and two Plethrons in Circumference, and thirteen Plethrons in Breadth ; standing near a spacious Lake, which the Lydians say is fed by perpetual Springs, and derives its Name from *Gyges*. The Customs of the Lydians differ little from those of the Grecians, except only that they prostitute their Daughters. They were the first of all the Nations we know, who introduc'd the Art of coining Gold and Silver to facilitate Trade, and first practis'd the Way of retailing Merchandize. They pretend to be the Inventors of divers Games, which are now common to them with the Grecians : And, as they say, were found out about the Time they sent a Colony to *Tyrrhenia*, on this Occasion. During the Reign of *Atys* the Son of *Manes* King of *Lydia*, a Scarcity of Provisions spread over the Kingdom, which the People for a time support-

supported with Patience and Industry. But when they saw the Evil still continuing, they applied themselves to find out a Remedy; and some inventing one Game, and others another, they gradually introduc'd Dice, Balls, Tables, and all other Plays, Chess only excepted, of which the Lydians do not challenge the Invention: And to bear this Calamity better, they us'd to play one whole Day without Intermission, that they might not be disquieted with the Thoughts of Food; eating and drinking on the next Day, without amusing themselves with any kind of Game. After they had continued this alternate Manner during eighteen Years, and found their Wants rather increasing than abating; the King divided the People into two Parts, and order'd them to determine by Lot, which Division should relinquish the Country; and which should remain in Possession; he himself designing to reign over those who should have the Fortune to stay, and appointing his Son *Tyrrhenus* to command that Part which should be oblig'd to remove. Those who by Lot were constrain'd to depart, march'd down to *Smyrna*; where having built a sufficient Number of Ships, and put all Things necessary on Board, they set Sail in search of Food, and of a new Habitation; till having pass'd by many Nations, they arriv'd in *Umbria*, and built divers Cities, which they inhabit to this Day. There they chang'd their ancient Name, and were no longer call'd Lydians; but *Tyrrhenians*, from their Leader *Tyrrhenus* the Son of their King.

HAVING already related in what Manner the Lydians were conquer'd by the Persians, I shall  
in



in the next Place shew, who *Cyrus* was, that destroy'd the Kingdom of *Cræsus*, and how the Persians became Masters of *Asia*. In which Narration I shall follow those Persians only, who without heightening the Actions of *Cyrus*, have spoken the Truth with Plainness and Sincerity; tho' I am not ignorant, that there are three other ways of relating this History. After the Assyrians had possess'd the Empire of upper *Asia* five hundred and twenty Years, the Medes were the first that revolted from them; and strenuously contending for Liberty, shook off the Yoke of Servitude with such Courage, that other Nations imitated their Example. They made and enjoy'd their own Laws for some time all over that Continent: but were again reduc'd under a Tyranny by the Artifice of *Deioces* a Mede, and Son to *Phraortes*: who being a subtle Man, and aiming at absolute Power, effected his Design in this manner. The Medes were at that time distributed into several Districts; and *Deioces* having liv'd among them before in considerable Esteem, and now seeing all kind of Licentiousness spread over the whole Country, applied himself to the Exercise of Justice with great Zeal and Diligence; tho' he knew how much the Just were hated by Men of Violence. The Medes of the same District observing the Equity of his Conduct, chose him for their Judge; and he, aspiring to compass the Sovereign Power, perform'd that Office with all possible regard to Justice. By this means he not only acquir'd much Honour in the District where he liv'd, but also among those of the other Divisions; who were made to believe, that *Deioces* was the only im-

partial

partial Judge in the whole Nation ; and therefore such as thought themselves injur'd by unjust Sentences, came from all Parts to him, in order to obtain Justice : Till at last no Man would commit the Decision of a Difference to any other Person. In the End, the Numbers of those who applied to him for Redress augmenting in Proportion to the great Fame of his Equity, *Deioces* seeing the whole Care of distributing Justice devolv'd upon his Person, absented himself from the Place where he us'd to sit to determine Differences, and declar'd he would pronounce no more Judgments; because he could not find his Account by spending the Day in doing Right to others, whilst his own Affairs were neglected. Upon this, Rapine and all manner of Injuries growing far more frequent in every Part than before, the Medes call'd a general Assembly, and as they were consulting about the present State of Things, the Partizans of *Deioces* gave, in my Opinion, a very plausible Turn to their Discourse. " If, said they, " we continue in our present Condition, " we cannot expect to live long in this Country. Let us therefore constitute a King, that " the Nation may be govern'd by good Laws; " and that applying our Care to our own Business, we may not be constrain'd to abandon " our Habitations by the Disorders of Anarchy." The Medes persuaded by their Discourse, and resolving to have a King, began in the next Place to consider who should be the Person; when presently *Deioces* was universally nam'd, and with great Applause and general Consent, approv'd. But after his Election, he commanded them to build him a Palace suitable to the

Dignity

Dignity of a King, and requir'd Guards for the Security of his Person. The Medes obey'd; and on the Ground he chose, erected a strong and stately Fabrick for his Use; permitting him at the same Time to chuse for his Guard such Persons as he should think fit out of the whole Nation. Being thus possess'd of the Power, he compell'd the Medes to come under one Polity; and relinquishing the Care of the rest, to build one City surrounded with Fortifications. In this also he was obey'd; and those strong and magnificent Walls, which now go under the Name of *Ecbatana*, were then built. They are of a circular Form, one within the other, and each gradually rais'd just so much above the other as the Battlements are high. The Situation of the Ground, rising by an easy Ascent, was very favourable to the Design. But the Thing chiefly to be consider'd, is, that the King's Palace and Treasury are built within the innermost Circle of the seven, which compose this City. The first and most spacious of these Walls is equal in Circumference to the City of *Athens*, and white from the Foot of the Battlements. The second is black, the third of a purple Colour, the fourth blue, and the fifth of a deep Orange. All these are colour'd with different Compositions; but of the two innermost Walls, one is painted on the Battlements with a silver Colour, and the other is gilded with Gold. *Deioces* having thus provided for his Residence, and the Safety of his Person, commanded the rest of the People to fix their Habitations in Places situate without the Walls of the City; which when they had done, he establish'd

I these



these Rules to be observ'd as standing Orders ; That no Man should be admitted to the King's Presence, but should transact all things with him by Messengers ; That none should be permitted to see him ; and, that either to laugh or spit in his Sight, should be accounted indecent. All which he enjoin'd, lest Men of Spirit and Courage, conversing with him, should be provok'd by Discontent to conspire against his Person : Not doubting, that those who were debarr'd from seeing him at all, would easily be induc'd to think him of a superior Nature to themselves. When he had establish'd these Orders, and settled himself in the Tyranny, he was very severe in the Execution of Justice. The Parties contending were oblig'd to send him their Case in Writing ; which when he had seen and consider'd, he us'd to send it back with his Decision ; and this was the Method he took in Matters of Contestation. But if he receiv'd Information that any Man had injur'd another, he would presently send for him, and punish him in Proportion to his Offence, maintaining to that End many Emissaries and Spies in the Provinces of his Government. The Power of *Deioces* extended not beyond the whole Nation of the Medes ; which consists of the Buzians, Paratacenians, Struchates, Arizantins, Budians, and the Mages. He reign'd fifty three Years, and his Son *Phraortes* succeeded him in the Kingdom ; who not contented to be King of *Media* only, made his first Expedition against the Persians, and reduc'd them under the Dominion of the Medes. And having united the Forces of those two powerful Nations, he subdued *Asia* ; advancing his Conquests

quests gradually, and attacking one Country after another ; till at last he invaded the Assyrians; who inhabited the City of *Ninus*, and had been the principal People of those Nations ; though at that time they were abandon'd by their Confederates. Yet their Affairs being otherwise in good Condition, they prov'd a formidable Enemy ; for *Phraortes* having enter'd their Territories, perish'd with the greatest part of his Army in that Enterprize, after he had reign'd twenty two Years. *Cyaxares* the Son of *Phraortes*, and Grandson to *Deioces*, succeeded him, and is generally esteem'd to have been more brave and warlike than his Ancestors. He form'd the People of *Asia* into distinct Bodies, of Lances, Cavalry, and Archers ; whereas before they had been accusom'd to mix in a confus'd Manner ; and fought that Battle against the Lydians, when the Day was on a sudden turn'd into Night. At length having united all *Asia* beyond the River *Hælys*, under him, and assembled all his Forces, he march'd towards the City of *Ninus*, to avenge the Death of his Father by the Destruction of that Place ; but after he had obtain'd a Victory over the Assyrians, and actually besieg'd *Ninus*, a great Army of Scythians appear'd in full March, under the Conduct of *Madyes* their King, and Son of *Protothyas*. These Scythians had driven the Cimmerians out of *Europe*, and pursuing them into *Asia*, by that Means enter'd the Territories of the Medes. The Distance between the Lake *Mæotis* and the River *Phasis* in the Country of *Colchis*, is as much as a vigorous Man can walk in thirty Days: But the Way from *Colchis* to *Media* is not long, no other

People than the Salpires lying between both. However, the Scythians declining to pass thro' their Territories, march'd round by the Way of the high Country, having the Mountain *Caucasus* on the right Hand; and in those Parts fought and defeated the Army of the Medes, who with the Battle lost the Dominion of *Asia*. The Scythians having thus possess'd themselves of *Asia*, march'd directly against the *Ægyptians*: But when they were arriv'd in the Palestine *Syria*, *Psammetichus* King of *Ægypt* came thither to meet them, and by Prayers and Presents prevail'd with them to advance no farther. In their Return they pass'd by *Ascalon* a City of *Syria*, and most part of the Army march'd thro' the Place without doing any Injury. But some few, who were left behind, pillag'd the Temple of the celestial *Venus*; which as I am inform'd, is the most ancient of all those that are dedicated to this Goddess. For her Temple in *Cyprus* was built after that of *Ascalon*, as the Cyprians themselves confess; and that of *Cythera* was erected by Phœnicians who came from the same part of *Syria*. However, the Goddess to avenge this Attempt, inflicted on those that robb'd her Temple, and all their Posterity, a Distemper, in other Places only common to Women; and divers of these Patients are seen by those who travel into *Scythia*, where they are call'd by the Name of impious Persons.

AFTER the Scythians had been twenty eight Years in Possession of *Asia*, and by their Insolence and Negligence brought all to Confusion, laying heavy Impositions on the Publick, and invading the Properties of private Men, *Cyaxares* and the Medes invited the greatest part to a Feast,  
and



and kill'd them when they were drunk : In Consequence of which Action, the Medes recover'd their former Power, and all they had possess'd before ; took the City of *Ninus*, as I shall relate in another Place, and subdued the Assyrians, *Babylon* and the adjoining Country only excepted. Having accomplish'd these things, *Cyaxares* died ; after he had reign'd forty Years, comprehending the Time of the Scythian Dominion.

*ASTYAGES* the Son of *Cyaxares*, succeeding him in the Kingdom, had a Daughter nam'd *Mandane* ; and having dreamt she made so great a Quantity of Water, as not only fill'd his Capital City, but overflow'd all *Asia*, he consulted the Interpreters of Dreams among the Mages ; and by their Explanation was cast into such a Dread of the Event, that seeing his Daughter of sufficient Age, he resolv'd not to marry her to a Mede, worthy of her Bed ; but chose a Persian for her Husband, nam'd *Cambyfes*, descended of a good Family, of a peaceful Disposition, and one he thought inferior to a Mede even of moderate Condition. Within the Space of a Year after he had married *Mandane* to *Cambyfes*, he had another Dream ; in which he seem'd to see a Vine shooting from the Bowels of his Daughter, and extending its Branches over all *Asia*. This he also communicated to the Interpreters, and having heard their Answer, sent to *Persia* for his Daughter, who was then big with Child ; and upon her Arrival put her under a Guard, resolving to destroy whatever should be born of her. For the Mages considering his Dream, had inform'd him that the Issue of his Daughter should reign in his Place. And therefore as soon as *Cyrus*

was born, *Astyages* mindful of the Prediction,  
 sent for *Harpagus*, who was his Favourite, and  
 of all the Medes most entrusted with his Affairs,  
 and said to him, "*Harpagus*, Fail not to per-  
 form the thing I now command. Deceive  
 me not ; and by chusing others to do this  
 Office, draw Ruin upon thy own Head.  
 Take *Mandane's* Son ; carry him to thy  
 House ; kill him, and bury him as thou  
 shalt think fit." *Harpagus* answer'd, " O  
 King, As you have never observ'd me un-  
 willing to obey your Commands in any thing ;  
 so I shall ever take care to preserve my self  
 free from the Crimes of Disobedience. If  
 therefore this thing be agreeable to your In-  
 tention, my Part is to perform it with Di-  
 ligence." Having made this Answer, he re-  
 ceiv'd the Infant richly dress'd, with Orders  
 to put the cruel Sentence in Execution. He  
 wept as he carried him to his own House, and  
 arriving there, acquainted his Wife with all  
 that had pass'd between *Astyages* and himself.  
 " What then, said she, are you resolv'd to do ?  
 " Not to obey *Astyages*, replied *Harpagus*, in the  
 " Manner he has commanded, tho' he should  
 " be yet more outrageous and mad than he is :  
 " Neither will I my self commit this Murder  
 " for many Reasons ; but principally because  
 " the Child is related to me in Blood, and *Asty-*  
 " *ages* is old, and has no Son to succeed him.  
 " So that after his Death, if the Kingdom  
 " should devolve into the Hands of his Daugh-  
 " ter, what Punishment may I not expect for  
 " the Murder of her Son ? 'Tis indeed necessary  
 " for my Preservation that the Infant should die,  
 " but as necessary that some Person belonging to  
 " *Astyages*

“ *Astyages* should be the Executioner, and not  
 “ any Person of my Family.” In this Resolu-  
 tion he immediately sent for one of the King’s  
 Herdsmen, who he knew kept his Cattle at the  
 Foot of certain Hills, abounding with Wild  
 Beasts, and on that account very commodious for  
 his Design. *Mitrادات* was the Name of the  
 Herdsman, and he had married a Wife who was  
 his Fellow-Servant. Her Name in the Lan-  
 guage of *Greece* was *Cyno*, and in that of the  
*Medes Spaco*, which signifies a Bitch. The Man  
 kept his Cattle in Pastures that lye under the  
 Hills on the North of *Ecbatana*, towards the  
*Euxin Sea*. For this Part of *Media*, which bor-  
 ders upon the *Saspires*, is very mountainous, and  
 cover’d with Woods; whereas all the rest is plain  
 and level. When the Herdsman had receiv’d  
 the Message, he went with great Diligence to  
*Harpagus*, who spoke to him in these Terms ;  
 “ *Astyages* has commanded thee to take this In-  
 “ fant, and to lay him down in the most aban-  
 “ don’d Desert of the Mountains, that he may  
 “ presently perish ; and has charg’d me to add,  
 “ that if thou shouldst venture to disobey him,  
 “ and by any means save the Child, thou shalt  
 “ dye in the most exquisite Tortures that can  
 “ be invented ; and I am appointed to see his  
 “ Order put in Execution.” *Mitrادات* having  
 heard these Words, took the Infant, and re-  
 turn’d by the same way to his Cottage ; where  
 he found his Wife, who had been all the Day  
 in hard Labour, providentially brought to Bed,  
 whilst he was absent in the City. During this  
 time, they had been both in great Trouble ; the  
 Husband much concern’d for the Condition of  
 his Wife, and the Woman no less disturb’d about  
 F 4 her



her Husband, because *Harpagus* had never sent for him before. So that he no sooner came within the Door, than the Woman in a Surprise ask'd him, Why *Harpagus* had sent for him in such Haste? "Wife, said he, I have  
 " been in the City; where I have seen and  
 " heard such things, as I with had never been  
 " seen by me, nor ever happen'd to our Masters. The whole House of *Harpagus* was  
 " fill'd with Lamentations: And as I went in,  
 " struck with Horrour, I saw an Infant dress'd  
 " in Gold and the richest Colours panting and  
 " crying on the Floor. *Harpagus* seeing me,  
 " order'd me to carry away the Child with all  
 " Speed, and to leave him in that Part of the  
 " Mountains which is most frequented by Wild  
 " Beasts; telling me at the same time, that this  
 " was the Command of *Astyages*, and threatening the severest Punishment if I should fail.  
 " I took the Infant, which I suppos'd to belong to some Person of the Family; having  
 " then no Suspicion of his high Birth, tho'  
 " I was astonish'd to see the Gold and Magnificence of the Apparel, and to have heard  
 " such loud Lamentation in the House of *Harpagus*. But being upon the Way, I understood all from the Servant that accompanied  
 " me out of the City; who delivering the  
 " Boy into my Hands, assur'd me he was born  
 " of *Mandane* our King's Daughter, and of  
 " *Cambyfes* the Son of *Cyrus*, and that *Astyages*  
 " had commanded him to be kill'd." As he finish'd these Words, he shew'd the Infant uncover'd to his Wife; who seeing him beautiful and well proportion'd, embrac'd the Knees of her Husband, and with Tears besought him  
 not

not to execute the Orders he had receiv'd. He told her he was under an absolute necessity of obeying ; because the Spies of *Harpagus* would certainly come to see the thing done, and because he himself had been threatned with the most cruel Death, if he should fail. The Woman finding she could not prevail this way, had recourse to another. “ Since then, said she, I “ cannot persuade you not to expose the In- “ fant, do this at least, if the Spies of *Harpa- “ gus* must see his Orders obey'd : Take my “ Child, which was born dead ; leave him a- “ mong the Hills instead of the other, and let “ us bring up the Son of *Mandane* as our own. “ For by that means we shall sufficiently consult “ our own Safety, without doing any Injury to “ our Lords : The Child that is dead shall have “ a Royal Sepulchre, and the surviving Infant “ shall be preserv'd from an untimely Death.” The Herdsman judging this Expedient very proper in the present State of things ; and resolving to do as his Wife advis'd, deliver'd the Infant he was about to destroy into her hands ; and having wrapp'd his own dead Child in all the rich Apparel, he put it into the same Basket in which he had brought the other, and carried it to the most desolate part of all the Mountains. On the third Day after this was done, leaving one of the Herdsmen in his place, he went to the House of *Harpagus* in the City, and told him he was ready to shew the Carcass of the Infant. Upon which *Harpagus* dispatch'd some of his Guards, whom he most trusted, to see what was done ; and at their Return took care to inter the Herdsman's Child. The other, who afterwards had the Name of *Cyrus*, was educated

educated by the Wife of the Herdsman, and went under the Name she gave him. But when he attain'd to the Age of ten Years, he was discover'd by this Action. Being one Day playing in these Pastures with Boys of a like Age, whilst he pass'd for the Son of the Herdsman, he was chosen King by his Companions ; and in Virtue of that Power, distinguish'd them into several Orders and Offices, appointing some to be Builders, and others to wait on him as Guards ; one to be his Chief Minister, who is call'd the Eye of the King, and another to have the Care of bringing Messages to him. The Son of *Artembares*, a Man of eminent Dignity among the Medes, being one of his Companions in this Play, and refusing to obey his Orders, *Cyrus* commanded him to be immediately seiz'd and punish'd with many Stripes, which was done accordingly. But as soon as the Boy was dismiss'd, he hasten'd to the City, full of Grief and Indignation on account of this Disgrace, which he thought insupportable, and with Tears told his Father what he had suffer'd from *Cyrus*, calling him the Son of the King's Herdsman ; for at that time he had not the Name of *Cyrus*. *Artembares* in a Transport of Anger, went presently to *Astyages*, accompanied by his Son ; and shewing the Boy's Shoulders to the King, " Are we then, said he, to be  
 " treated in this shameful Manner by a Slave, the  
 " Son of thy Herdsman ? " *Astyages* heard and saw what was done ; and resolving for the Honour of *Artembares* to avenge the Indignity offer'd to the Youth, commanded the Herdsman and his Son to be brought before him. When they came into his Presence, the King looking  
 upon



upon *Cyrus*, ask'd him, how he, who was the Son of so mean a Man, had dar'd in so insolent a manner to abuse the Son of one of the principal Persons in his Kingdom? "SIR, said *Cyrus*, "I have done no more than I had a Right to "do. For he with other Boys of our Neigh- "bourhood, in our Recreations made me their "King, because they thought me most capable "of that Dignity. All the rest obey'd me, "and perform'd what I commanded; but he "alone refusing to obey, and slighting my Or- "ders, has suffer'd the Punishment he deserv'd: "And if this be a Crime, I am in your Power."

As the Boy was speaking, *Astyages* began to think he knew him: The Air of his Face appear'd to him like his own; his Answer Liberal and Noble; and reflecting on the Time when his Grandson was expos'd, he found it agreeing with his Age. Astonish'd at these things, he was long silent; and at last hardly recovering himself, he dismiss'd *Artembares* with Assurance that he would take care his Son should have no Cause of Complaint; which he did in order to examine the Herdsman privately. When *Artembares* was gone out, the King commanded his Attendants to conduct *Cyrus* into the Palace; and detaining the Herdsman alone, ask'd him where he had the Boy, and from whose Hands? *Mitradates* affirm'd he was his own Son, and that the Mother of the Boy was still living. *Astyages* told him, he as little consulted his own Safety, as if he purposely design'd to bring himself into the greatest Extremities; and at the same time commanded his Guards to seize him. The Man seeing himself reduc'd to this Necessity, discover'd the whole

whole matter without Reserve ; and implor'd the King's Mercy ; who having found out the Truth, seem'd not much concern'd about the Herdsman. Being highly incens'd against *Harpagus*, he sent his Guards with Orders to bring him to the Palace ; where when he was come, *Astyages* ask'd him, in what manner he had kill'd the Son of his Daughter *Mandane* ? *Harpagus* seeing the Herdsman present, resolv'd to conceal nothing by a Falshood, lest he should be convicted by his Testimony, and therefore said ;

“ O King, After I had receiv'd the Infant, I  
“ carefully consider'd how your Command  
“ might be obey'd, and I, who had not offend-  
“ ed you, might not be guilty of so great a  
“ Crime against you and your Daughter. To  
“ that end I sent for this Man, and gave him  
“ the Child ; which I said you had command-  
“ ed him to destroy ; and I told him the Truth,  
“ for such indeed were your Orders. In this  
“ manner I put the Infant into his Hands ;  
“ charging him in the next place to lay him  
“ down in some Desert of the Mountains, and  
“ to stay till he should see him perish, threat-  
“ ning the severest Punishment if he should dare  
“ to fail. When he had executed these Or-  
“ ders, and the Child was dead, I sent some of  
“ the most trusty among my Eunuchs to in-  
“ spect the Matter ; and after they had given  
“ me a satisfactory Account , I buried him.  
“ This is the whole Truth, O King, and such  
“ was the Fate of the Infant.” Thus *Harpagus* spoke with Plainness ; and *Astyages* dissembling his Resentment, repeated to him the whole Confession of the Herdsman ; adding, that the Boy was living, and that he himself was  
glad

glad of the Event. “ For, said he, I was in  
“ great Pain on account of this thing, and  
“ could not easily bear the Reproaches of my  
“ Daughter : Therefore since Fortune has been  
“ more propitious than we expected, send your  
“ Son to accompany the Boy I have recover’d,  
“ and come your self to my Supper ; for I re-  
“ solve to sacrifice to those Gods, who have  
“ a Right to my Acknowledgment on this Oc-  
“ casion.” As soon as *Harpagus* heard these  
Words, he ador’d the King, and went Home  
exceedingly pleas’d, that his Fault had turn’d to  
so good account, and that he was invited to  
the Feast of Joy. At his Return he sent his  
only Son, of about thirty Years of Age, to  
*Astyages*, with order to do as he should com-  
mand ; and acquainted his Wife with what had  
pass’d, in Expressions of the highest Satisfaction.  
But the Youth going into the Palace, was kill’d  
and cut in pieces by *Astyages* ; who, after he  
had roasted some Parts of his Flesh, and boil’d  
others, kept them in a Readiness to be serv’d.  
At the appointed Hour, when *Harpagus* and all  
the Company was come, the Tables where the  
King sat, and the rest of those he had invited,  
were serv’d with Mutton ; but before *Harpagus*  
all the Body of his Son was plac’d, except the  
Head, the Hands and Feet, which were laid  
together in a Basket, and cover’d. When he  
seem’d to have eaten sufficiently, *Astyages* ask’d  
him, If he lik’d the Meat ; and *Harpagus* an-  
swering, That he had never tasted any thing  
more delicious, the Officers appointed to that  
end, brought the Head, Hands, and Feet of the  
Youth ; desiring him to uncover the Basket,  
and take what pleas’d him best. He did as they  
desir’d,



desir'd, and saw the Remains of his Son's Body, without being astonish'd at the Sight, or shewing any sign of Discontent: And when *Astyages* ask'd him, If he knew what kind of Venison he had eaten; he said, he knew very well, and was always pleas'd with whatever the King did: After which Answer, he collected the mangled Parts, and went Home, as I conjecture, to bury them together.

*A S T Y A G E S* after he had thus punish'd *Harpagus*, beginning to consider what he should do with *Cyrus*, sent again for the Mages, who had formerly interpreted his Dream; and when they came into his Presence, ask'd them what Judgment they had made of it. They gave the same Answer as before; and said, That if the Boy should continue to live, he must of Necessity be a King. “He is living and safe,” answer'd *Astyages*; and having been chosen “King by the Boys of that District where he “liv'd, he has already perform'd all the Offi- “ces which belong to a real King. For he “exercis'd that Power in appointing Guards, “Doorkeepers, Messengers, and all other things “requisite: And now I desire to know what “you think of these Actions?” If the Boy be “living, *said the Mages*, and has already been a “King by such an Accident, and not by Con- “trivance, you may rest satisfied in full Assu- “rance that he shall not reign a second time. “For our Predictions often terminate in things “of little Importance, and Dreams especially “are fulfill'd by slight Events.” I am fully “persuaded, *replied Astyages*, that my Dream is “accomplish'd, and that I have nothing more “to fear, since the Title of King has been  
I “ given

“ given to the Boy ; yet consider well, and  
“ with all possible Circumspection advise what  
“ may be most conducing to the Safety of my  
“ Family and to your selves. Our great Inte-  
“ rest, *answer'd the Mages*, is, That your King-  
“ dom should be firmly establish'd ; because if  
“ the Sovereignty be alienated and transferr'd to  
“ this Persian, we, who are Medes, shall be-  
“ come Servants of the Persians, and be treated  
“ as Foreigners with the utmost Contempt ;  
“ whereas now, living under a King of our  
“ own Country, we have a Part in the Go-  
“ vernment, and enjoy the greatest Honours.  
“ So that standing oblig'd by Interest to be  
“ careful and vigilant to preserve your Person  
“ and Kingdom, we would not conceal any  
“ thing from you which might be dangerous  
“ to either. And therefore since the Dream is  
“ accomplish'd by a frivolous Event, we exhort  
“ you to lay aside your Fears, as we have al-  
“ ready done, and to send away the Boy to his  
“ Parents in *Persia*.” *Astyages* heard this Dis-  
course with Joy, and calling for *Cyrus*, said to  
him ; “ Child, I have been unjust to thee, by  
“ reason of an insignificant Dream ; but thou  
“ hast surviv'd thy own Destiny. Prepare now  
“ to go cheerfully to *Persia* with those I shall  
“ appoint to attend thee ; where thou shalt  
“ find thy Father and Mother, very different  
“ in Condition from the Herdsman *Mitrادات*  
“ and his Wife.” After these Words, *Cyrus*  
was dismiss'd by *Astyages* ; and upon his Arrival  
at the House of *Cambyses*, his Parents receiv'd  
and embrac'd him with the greatest Tenderness,  
as a Child they had long given over for dead ;  
and ask'd him, by what means his Life had  
been

been preserv'd. He said, he had liv'd in the deepest Ignorance of his Condition, and knew nothing of his own Misfortunes, but believ'd he was the Son of the King's Herdsman; till those, who accompanied him in this Journey, inform'd him of all that had pass'd. He related the manner of his Education under the Care of the Herdsman's Wife, and frequently repeating the Name of *Cyno*, commended her on every Occasion. This Name his Parents made Use of to persuade the Persians that the Preservation of *Cyrus* was particularly owing to a divine Power, affirming that a Bitch had nourish'd him, when he was expos'd in the Desert: And hence the Original of that Fable is deriv'd.

WHEN *Cyrus* had attain'd to the Age of a Man, and was become the most lov'd and most brave of all his Equals in Years, *Harpagus* vehemently desiring to be reveng'd upon *Astyages*, and despairing to accomplish his Ends by his own Power, because he was but a private Man, courted him with Presents; and judging the Injuries they had suffer'd to be of like Nature, made a Friendship with him. He did yet more to bring about his Purpose. For seeing the Medes oppress'd by the Cruelty of *Astyages*, he applied himself to the principal Persons of the Nation, one after another, and persuaded them that they ought to depose him, and advance *Cyrus* to the Throne in his Place. When he had done this, and prepar'd the Medes to second his Design, he resolv'd to discover his Intentions to *Cyrus*; and having no other way left, because Guards were plac'd on all the Roads that lead to *Persia*, he contriv'd the following Artifice. He open'd the Belly of a Hare,



Hare, and without tearing any Part, put a Letter, containing what he thought necessary to write, into the Body ; and having ſew'd it up ſo artfully that the Inciſion was not viſible, he deliver'd the Hare with a Net to the moſt truſty of his Domeltick Officers, cloath'd in the Habit of a Hunter ; commanding him to go to *Persia*, and upon the Delivery of the Hare, to deſire *Cyrus* not to open it in the Preſence of any other Perſon. The Meſſenger executed his Orders, and *Cyrus* opening the Hare with his own Hands, found a Letter in which he read theſe Words, “ Son of *Cambyſes*, the peculiar  
 “ Care of the Gods, as thy Preſervation evidently demonſtrates ! reſolve now to puniſh  
 “ thy Murderer *Aſtyages* ; for he did all he  
 “ could to compaſs thy Death ; but Heaven  
 “ and my Care have preſerv'd thee. I need  
 “ not repeat what he has done againſt thee,  
 “ nor what I have ſuffer'd from him for delivering thee to the Herdsman, inſtead of executing his bloody Orders, becauſe I ſuppoſe  
 “ thou haſt been long inform'd of theſe things.  
 “ At preſent, if thou wilt follow my Counſel,  
 “ all the Dominions which *Aſtyages* poſſeſſes  
 “ ſhall be thine. Perſuade the Perſians to revolt, and at the Head of their Forces invade  
 “ *Media*. The Succeſs is certain, whether  
 “ *Aſtyages* appoint me or any other illuſtrious  
 “ Mede to command his Army. For all the  
 “ principal Perſons among the Medes will deſert him ; and joining with thee, will endeavour to dethrone him. Defer not the  
 “ Execution of this Enterprize ; becauſe all  
 “ things are ready on our Part.” *Cyrus* having read theſe Words, began to conſider what Meaſures

fures he should take to persuade the Persians to revolt; and after various Thoughts, fix'd upon this Method as the most proper. He fram'd a Letter in such Terms as he thought fit, and call'd an Assembly of Persians; in which, when he had open'd and read the Letter, he declar'd, that *Affages* had constituted him Captain General of *Persia*: "And now, said he, I command  
 " you to attend me, every Man with his  
 " Hatchet." The Persians are divided into many Tribes, of which those that *Cyrus* summon'd and persuaded to revolt, are the principal, and influence all the rest. They are the Arteates, the Persians, the Pefargades, the Mceraphians, and the Matians. But of all these, the Pefargades are esteem'd the most brave, and comprehend the Achæmenian Family, of which the Kings of *Persia* are descended. The rest are, the Panthelians, the Derusians, and the Germanians, who are all Husbandmen; but the Daians, the Mardians, the Dropicians, and the Saggartians, are Keepers of Cattle. When they came to *Cyrus* with their Hatchets, he order'd them to clear in one Day a Piece of Land, containing eighteen or twenty Stades overgrown with Briars; and after they had done that Work, he bid them go Home and wash, and attend him again the next Day. In the meantime he order'd all his Father's Flocks and Herds to be kill'd and dress'd; providing Wine, and the best of things in Abundance, to treat the whole military Power of *Persia*. The next Day when they were all assembled, and seated on the Green Turf, he feasted them plentifully; and after they had din'd, ask'd, Whether they would chuse to live always in that Manner, or as they  
 had

had done the Day before. They answer'd, the Difference was great ; for they had pass'd the preceding Day in Toil and Labour, and this in Mirth and Pleasure. *Cyrus* perceiving the Tendency of these Words, discover'd his Intentions, and said ; “ Men of *Persia*, If you will  
 “ hearken to my Counsel, you shall enjoy these,  
 “ and infinite other Advantages, without any  
 “ kind of servile Labour ; but if you refuse,  
 “ innumerable Hardships like those of Yesterday  
 “ are prepar'd for you. Believe me therefore,  
 “ and be a free People. For I am persuaded  
 “ some Divine Power brought me into the  
 “ World, to be the Author of your Happiness :  
 “ Neither can I think you any way inferior  
 “ to the Medes ; especially in Military Affairs :  
 “ And if these things are so, deliver  
 “ your selves without Delay from the Tyranny  
 “ of *Astyages*.” The Persians, who during many Years had liv'd in Reluctancy under the Obedience of the Medes, accepted him for their Leader, and readily re-assum'd their Liberty.

*ASTYAGES* being inform'd of these Transactions, sent a Messenger for *Cyrus* ; who by the same Person return'd this Answer : “ That  
 “ he would come sooner than *Astyages* desir'd.” Which when the King heard, he arm'd all the Medes ; and, as if the Gods had depriv'd him of Understanding, made *Harpagus* General of his Army, utterly forgetting the Outrage he had done him. So that when the two Nations came to a Battle, tho' some of the Medes, who knew nothing of the Conspiracy, behav'd themselves with Courage ; yet great Numbers revolted to the Persians ; and the far greater Part willingly



losing the Day, fled out of the Field. The Army of the Medes being thus shamefully dissipated, and the News brought to *Astyages*, he broke into a great Rage, and threaten'd *Cyrus* that he should not long enjoy the Pleasure of his Victory. After which, having first commanded the Mages who had interpreted his Dream, to be impal'd, for advising him to send *Cyrus* to *Persia*, he arm'd all the Medes he found in the City, both old and young; and marching out with these Forces, engag'd the Enemy: In which Action he lost the Day, with his whole Army, and was himself made Prisoner by the Persians. *Harpagus* standing by *Astyages* after he was taken, reproach'd and insulted him openly; and among other Discourse tending to imbitter his Calamity, ask'd, What he thought of his Feast, when he compell'd him to eat the Flesh of his own Son; by which he had now exchange'd a Kingdom for a Prison. *Astyages* looking stedfastly on *Harpagus*, demanded, Whether he thought himself the Author of the late Success obtain'd by *Cyrus*? He answer'd, Yes; because by his Letter he had animated *Cyrus* to this War; and therefore might justly lay claim to the Enterprize. *Astyages* said, he was then the weakest and most unjust of all Men: The weakest, in giving the Kingdom to another, which he might have assum'd to himself, if indeed he had effected this Change; and the most unjust, in enslaving the Medes on account of the Supper. For if he was necessitated to confer the Kingdom on another Person, and not to take the Power to himself, he might with more Justice have advanc'd a Mede to that Dignity than a Persian: Whereas now the Medes, who before  
were

were Masters of *Persia*, and had no Part in the Fault, were by his Means reduc'd to the Condition of Servants ; and the Persians, who had been Servants to the Medes, were become their Lords. In this manner *Astyages* was depriv'd of the Kingdom, after he had reign'd Thirty five Years ; and by his Cruelty the Medes became subject to the Persians, after they had commanded in all those Parts of *Asia* that lie beyond the River *Halys*, for the Space of One hundred and twenty eight Years, the Time of the Scythian Dominion only excepted. Yet afterwards repenting of what they had done, they revolted against *Darius* ; but were again defeated in a Battle ; and the Persians, who under the Conduct of *Cyrus* had taken Arms against *Astyages* and the Medes, have from that time been Masters of *Asia*. As for *Astyages*, *Cyrus* kept him in his Palace till he died, without exercising any farther Severity against him. And this is the Account of the Birth, Education, and Advancement of *Cyrus* to the Dignity of a King. How he afterwards conquer'd *Cræsus*, who invaded his Territories without Cause, I have related before.

THE Customs which I have observ'd among the Persians are these. They make no Images, nor build either Altars or Temples ; charging those with Folly who do such things ; because, as I conjecture, they hold the Gods to be altogether different in Nature from Men, contrary to the Opinion of the Grecians. When they go to offer a Sacrifice to *Jupiter*, they ascend the highest Parts of the Mountains ; and call the whole Circle of the Heavens by the Name of *Jupiter*. They sacrifice to the Sun and Moon,

to the Earth, the Fire, the Water, and the Winds. These are their Original Gods ; but they have since learnt from the Arabians and Assyrians to sacrifice to *Venus Urania*, who by the Arabians is call'd *Alitta*, by the Assyrians *My-litta*, and by the Persians *Mitra*. When a Persian resolves to sacrifice, he builds no Altar, kindles no Fire, makes no Libation, nor uses either Flutes, Fillets, or consecrated Flower ; but wearing a Tiara garnish'd chiefly with Myrtle on his Head, leads the Victim to a clean Piece of Ground, and invokes the God. He that offers is not permitted to pray for himself alone ; but as he is a Member of the Nation, is oblig'd to pray for the Prosperity of all the Persians, and in particular for the King. When he has cut the Victim into small Pieces, and boil'd the Flesh, he lays it on a Bed of tender Grass, especially Trefoil ; and after all things are thus dispos'd, one of the Magi standing up sings an Ode concerning the Original of the Gods, which, they say, has the Force of a Charm ; and without one of these they are not permitted to sacrifice. After this, he that offer'd having continued a short time in the Place, carries away and disposes of the Flesh as he thinks fit. They are persuaded, that every Man ought to celebrate his Birthday above all other Days, and furnish his Table in a more plentiful manner than at other times. Beeves, Camels, Horses, and Asses, roasted intire, are seen in the Houses of the Rich on that Day ; and smaller Cattle in those of the Meaner Sort. They are moderate in the Use of common Food ; but eat plentifully of the Desert, which yet is not very delicious, tho' they thence take occasion  
to



to say, that the Grecians rise hungry from Table ; and that if they had any thing good set before them after their Repast, they would not leave off Eating so soon. The Persians drink Wine in abundance ; but may not vomit or make Water before any Man. These Customs are observ'd to this Day. They debate the most important Affairs in the midst of their Cups : But the Master of the House where they meet to consult, proposes the same things the next Day to the Company ; and if when they have not drunk at all, their preceding Resolutions are approv'd, they stand, and, if not, are rejected. In like manner, when they drink they resume the Consideration of whatever they debate before their Wine. When they meet one another in the Way, Men may easily know their Condition and Quality. For if they are Equals, they salute with a Kiss on the Mouth : If one be a little inferiour to the other, they kiss on the Cheek ; but if he be of a much lower Rank, he prostrates himself before the other. They give the greatest Honour to their nearest Neighbours, less to such as are more remote, and least of all to those who live at the greatest Distance ; esteeming themselves much more worthy in every thing than the rest of Men, and others to participate of Virtue only in Proportion to the Nearness of their Situation ; always accounting those the worst and most base, who inhabit farthest from them. During the Empire of the Medes, each Nation had a gradual Superiority : for tho' the Medes had the supreme Power, yet they exercis'd a more particular Authority over those that were nearest to them ; these again, over such as liv'd next be-

yond their Borders ; and the last in like manner over their Neighbours of the adjoining Country : Which Example the Persians imitated, when increasing in Power, they obtain'd the Dominion, with the Government of Provinces. No Nation has ever been more ready to admit foreign Customs. They were the Habit of the Medes ; which they think more becoming than their own ; and in War they use the Ægyptian Cuiras. They are desirous to enjoy all Kinds of Pleasure they here mention'd, and have learnt from the Grecians to make Love to Boys. The Virgins they take for their Wives are many ; but their Concubines are far more numerous. To be a Father of many Children is accounted a Part of Manhood little Inferior to Military Courage ; and such Persons as can shew a numerous Offspring, receive yearly Presents from the King, because they think their Strength consists in their Numbers. From the Age of five Years to that of twenty, the Persians instruct their Sons in three things only ; to manage a Horse, to shoot dextrously with a Bow, and to speak Truth. A Son is not admitted to the Presence of his Father, but is brought up by Women, till he attains the Age of five Years ; lest if he should die before that time, his Father might be afflicted by the Loss. These Customs relating to Education I much approve ; and likewise that, by which even the King is restrain'd from killing any Man for a single Crime ; and every private Persian from exercising the utmost Severity against those of his Family for one Fault. He is first to consider the Actions of the Delinquent ; and if his Faults are found to over-balance his former Services, he

he may punish him at Pleasure. They say, no one has ever kill'd his Father or Mother ; and that if at any time such a Crime comes into Question, the Person accus'd shall certainly upon due Information be found to have been supposititious, or begotten in Adultery ; for they hold it utterly improbable that a true Father should be murder'd by his own Son. They are not allow'd even to mention the things they may not do. To affirm a Falshood, is among them the utmost Infamy ; and to be in Debt is for many Reasons accounted the next Degree of Disgrace ; but especially because they think such a Man always expos'd to the Necessity of Lying. If any of the Citizens have a Leprosy, or scrophulous Disease, he is not permitted to stay within the City, nor to converse with other Persians ; having, as they believe, drawn this Punishment upon himself, by committing some Offence against the Sun. But if Strangers are infected with those Distempers, they are presently expell'd the Country : And white Pigeons are not suffer'd to be kept, from Motives of the same kind. They never spit, nor wash their Hands, in a River ; nor defile the Stream with Urine or any other thing ; but pay a most Religious Reverence to running Waters. Their Language has one thing peculiar ; which tho' unknown to them, is well understood by us. For all Names representing the Person or Dignity of a Man, terminate in that Letter which the Dorians call *San*, and the Ionians *Sigma*. And every one upon Inquiry will find, that all Persian Names, without Exception, end in the same Letter. These things I can with certainty affirm  
to



to be true. But as their Customs relating to the dead are more conceal'd and not so manifest, I cannot say that all the Persians are expos'd for a Prey to some Dog or Bird before they are buried; but I certainly know this to be the Manner of the Mages; for 'tis done openly. The Persians cover the Body with a sufficient Quantity of Wax, and afterwards lay it in the Ground. Their Mages not only differ from all other Men, but even from the Ægyptian Priests, who will not pollute themselves by killing any Animal, except those they sacrifice to the Gods: Whereas the Mages make no Scruple to kill every thing with their own Hands, except a Man or a Dog; and think they do a meritorious thing, when they destroy Ants, Serpents, Birds, or Reptils. And thus having describ'd these Usages, I return to my Narration.

WHEN the Ionians and Æolians heard that the Lydians had been so easily conquer'd by the Persians, they sent Ambassadors to *Cyrus* before his Departure from *Sardis*, to make an Offer of their Submission to him, on the same Terms they obtain'd under the Government of *Cræsus*. Which Proposition *Cyrus* hearing, made them no other Answer than this; “A Piper  
“ seeing many Fishes in the Sea, and imagining  
“ he might entice them to the Shore by his  
“ Musick, began to play; but finding his Hopes  
“ disappointed, he threw a Net into the Wa-  
“ ter, and having enclos'd a great Number,  
“ drew it to the Land. When the Piper saw  
“ the Fishes leaping on the Ground, he said,  
“ Since you would not dance to my Pipe be-  
“ fore, you may now forbear dancing at all.”  
This Apologue was a Reprimand to the Ioni-  
ans

ans and Æolians; who, when *Cyrus* press'd them by his Ambassador to revolt from *Cræsus*, refus'd to consent, and now were ready to comply with his Desires, because they saw the Success of his Arms. With this Answer, which *Cyrus* gave in Anger, the Ionians return'd home; and having fortified their Cities, met together in a general Assembly of the whole League, the Milesians only excepted, who were singly admitted into the Alliance of *Cyrus* on the Foot of their former Agreement with the Lydian. All the rest of the Ionians met, and unanimously resolv'd to send Ambassadors to *Sparta*, earnestly to desire Succour from the Lacedemonians. The Ionian Cities, of which this Confederacy consists, are more commodiously and happily plac'd than any other we know among Men; for neither the Regions that are above *Ionia* on one side, nor those that lie below on the other, nor any Part situate either to the East or West, can justly be compar'd with this Country; because they are either chill'd with Cold and Rain, or expos'd to the Excesses of Heat and Dryness. All the Ionians are not of the same Language; but have four different Ways of expressing themselves. The City of *Miletus* lies to the Southward, and is accounted the principal of this League. The next are *Myus* and *Priene*. These three are situate in *Caria*, and use the same Dialect. *Ephesus*, *Colophon*, *Lebedus*, *Teos*, *Clazomene*, and *Phocæa*, are part of *Lydia*; and though they vary not at all from one another in their Manner of speaking, yet their Language is different from the other. The rest of the Ionian Communities are three, two of which inhabit the Islands of *Chios* and *Samos*;

*mos*; but the Erythræans are plac'd on the Continent. This People use the same Dialect with those of *Chios*; whereas the Samians have one peculiar to themselves. And these are the four Proprieties of Speech observ'd in *Ionia*.

AMONG these Ionians, the Milesians made their Peace with *Cyrus*, to exempt themselves from the Apprehensions of his Power. But the Islanders had nothing to fear; because the Phœnicians were not then under the Obedience of the Persians, nor were the Persians at all acquainted with maritime Affairs. This Separation of the Milesians, had no other Foundation than the Weakness of the Grecians in general, and of the Ionians in particular; who were the weakest of all, and in no manner of Esteem. The Athenians alone, among all those of that Extraction, were of considerable Fame. But neither they nor others were willing to be call'd Ionians; as indeed in our Time the greater Part seems to me ashamed of the Name. Yet the twelve Cities not only gloried in their Name, but built a Temple, which from themselves they call'd *Pan-Ionion*, and resolv'd not to communicate the Privilege of that Place to any other Ionians; neither have others ever desir'd to be admitted; except the Smyrnæans alone. In this they resembled those Dorians, now known by the Name of the *Five Cities*, which were formerly six in Number; who not only constantly refus'd to admit any of the neighbouring Dorians into their Temple at *Triope*; but excluded some of their own Community for transgressing the establish'd Orders. For in those Exercises that were perform'd there in Honour of *Apollo*, a Tripod of Brass was the Reward of  
the



the victorious; which yet no Man might carry out of the Temple, but was oblig'd to leave deposited on the Altar of the God. Nevertheless, when *Agasicles* of *Halicarnassus* won the Prize, and violated their Custom, by carrying away the Tripod, and affixing it to his own House, the five Cities of *Lindus*, *Ialissus*, *Camirus*, *Cos*, and *Cnidus*, excluded that City, which was the sixth, from the Union; and punish'd the Halicarnassians in that manner.

THE Ionians seem to have form'd themselves into twelve Cities, and resolv'd to admit no more into their Society, because they had been divided into just so many parts, when they inhabited in *Peloponesus*; as the Achaians, who drove out those Ionians, now consist of the same Number. The City of *Pellena*, fronting towards *Sicyon*, is the first of the Achaian League: The next are *Ægyra*, and *Æge*, which is water'd by the perpetual Streams of the River *Crathis*, from whence that of *Italy* takes its Name: After these, *Bura*, and *Helice*, to which Place the Ionians fled, when they were defeated by the Achaians: *Ægyon*, *Rhipes*, *Patras*, *Phare*, and *Olenus*, through which runs the great River *Pirus*: The rest are *Dyma* and *Tritæa*, the only inland Places among them. These are the twelve Parts of the Achaian Territories, which formerly belong'd to the Ionians; and on that Account they constituted the same Number of Cities in their new Establishment. For to say that these are more properly Ionians, or any way more considerable, than other Ionians, is great Folly; when we know that the Abantes from *Eubœa*, who had neither Name nor any other thing in common with the Ionians, are no inconsider-

considerable Part of this Colony ; and that the Minyan Orchomenians, the Cadmæans, Dryopians and Molossians, with the Pelasgians of *Arcadia*, the Dorians, Epidaurians, and many other People, were intermix'd with them ; as well as the Athenians, who were sent by the Prytanæan Council, and thought themselves the most illustrious of the Ionians. They had no Wives with them when they came to settle in this Country ; but seiz'd a sufficient Number of Carian Women, after they had kill'd their Parents : And for that Reason those Women enter'd into a mutual Compact, which they confirm'd by an Oath, and transmitted as sacred to their Daughters, that they would never eat with their Husbands, nor ever call them by their Names ; because they had kill'd their Fathers, their Husbands, and their Children, and after such Violences had forc'd them to submit to their Will. This Action was done in the Country of *Miletus*.

THE Ionians appointed Kings to govern them ; some chusing Lycians of the Posterity of *Glaucus* ; others electing out of the Pylian Caucones, who are descended from *Codrus* the Son of *Melanthus* ; and some again from both those Families. They are exceedingly pleas'd with the Name of Ionians, and are true and genuine Ionians ; as all those are, who derive their Original from *Athens*, and celebrate the Apaturian Festival, which is universally observ'd in *Ionia*, except by the Ephesians and Colophonians ; but these alone are excluded, under the Pretext of some Murder. The *Pan-Ionion* is a sacred Place in *Mycale*, situate to the Northward, and dedicated by the Ionian Confederacy

to *Neptune* of *Helicon* : And *Mycale* is a Promontory on the Continent, leaning on the South-West Side, towards *Samos*. In this Place the Ionians met to celebrate the Pan-Ionian Sollemnity : And we shall observe by the Way, that not only the Ionian, but all the Grecian Festivals terminate, like the Persian Names, in the same Letter.

HAVING given this Account of the Ionian Cities, I shall proceed to those of the *Æolians*; which are, *Cyme*, otherwise call'd *Phriconis*, *Larissa*, *Neontichus*, *Tenus*, *Cylla*, *Notion*, *Ægiroessa*, *Pitane*, *Ægæa*, *Myrina*. These are eleven of the twelve Cities formerly belonging to the *Æolians*; but *Smyrna*, which was the other, was ruin'd by the Ionians. They all stand on the Continent in a Region of greater Extent, but inferior in Climate to that of the Ionians. The *Æolians* were depriv'd of *Smyrna* in this Manner. A great Number of Colophonians having unsuccessfully mutinied at home, and being forc'd on that account to abandon their Country, came to *Smyrna*, where they were receiv'd and protected by the Inhabitants. But some time after their Arrival, while the People were celebrating the Rites of *Bacchus* without the Walls, they took that Opportunity to shut the Gates and seize the City. Upon which, when the *Æolians* came with all their Forces to succour the *Smyrnæans*, the Dispute was determin'd by an Agreement, conceiv'd in these Terms ; That the Ionians should restore all moveable Goods, and that the *Æolians* on their Part should quit their Claim to the City. The *Smyrnæans* consenting to these Conditions, were distributed into the other eleven Cities, and permitted



mitted to enjoy the Privilege of Citizens. These Places belonging to the Æolians, are on the Continent; besides those about Mount *Ida*, which lie at a great Distance. In the Islands they had the following Cities: Five in *Lesbos*; for the Methymnians destroy'd *Arisba*, which was the sixth, though they were of the same Blood; one in *Tenedos*; and another in the *Hundred Islands*. The Lesbians, with those of *Tenedos*, and the Ionians of the Islands, were under no Fear of the Persian Power; and all the other Cities had taken a Resolution to follow, wheresoever the Ionians should lead.

THE Ambassadors of the Ionians and Æolians having perform'd their Voyage with all possible Diligence, and arriving in *Sparta*, made Choice of *Pythermus* a Phocæan to speak in the Name of all; who, to bring a greater Number of Lacedemonians together, cloath'd himself in a Purple Habit, and in a long Speech implor'd their Assistance. But the Spartans rejecting his Request, determin'd not to succour the Ionians in any Manner: Upon which the Ambassadors return'd home. Yet the Lacedemonians, though they had dismiss'd the Ionian Embassy with a plain Denial, sent away certain Persons by Sea, to observe, as I conjecture, what should pass between *Cyrus* and the Ionians. These Men arriving in *Phocæa*, sent *Lacrines*, who was the most eminent Person among them, to *Sardis*, with Instructions to acquaint *Cyrus*, That if he should commit any Hostility against the Grecian Cities, they would not pass by the Indignity. Which when *Cyrus* heard, he inquir'd of the Grecians that were present, who the Lacedemonians were, and what Number of Men they could

could bring into the Field? And being inform'd of these Particulars, he said to the Spartan ;  
 “ I was never afraid of those, who in the midst  
 “ of their Cities have a Place of publick Resort, where they cheat one another by mutual  
 “ Oaths : And if I continue in Life and  
 “ Health, they shall have sufficient Cause to  
 “ be concern'd for their own Calamities,  
 “ without disquieting themselves about those  
 “ of the Ionians.” These Words of *Cyrus* were levell'd at all the Grecians in general, who in every City have some publick Place for the Uses of buying and selling ; but the Persians have none of these, nor any Place of publick Meeting at all.

*CYRUS* having entrusted *Tabalus* a Persian with the Government of *Sardis*, and appointed *Pactyas* a Lydian to bring away the Gold found in the Treasury of *Cræsus*, and other Parts of the City, took *Cræsus* with him, and departed for *Ecbatana*. And because he expected to find more Resistance from the Babylonians, Bactrians, Saces and Ægyptians, than from the Ionians, whose Power he despis'd ; he resolv'd to lead his Army in Person against those Nations, and to send another General against the Ionians. But as soon as he was retir'd from *Sardis*, *Pactyas* prevail'd with the Lydians to revolt from him, and putting to Sea with all the Riches of *Lydia* in his Possession, engag'd the maritime Places to join with him ; and after he had rais'd a good Number of Mercenaries, march'd to *Sardis*, and besieg'd *Tabalus*, who had shut himself up in the Castle. Which News when *Cyrus* heard, as he was on his Way, he spoke to *Cræsus* in these Terms ; “ What will be the End of these  
 H “ things?

“ things? And when will the Lydians cease to  
 “ give Disturbance to me, and to themselves?  
 “ I have almost determin’d to destroy the Na-  
 “ tion, and to reduce the People to the Condi-  
 “ tion of Servants; persuaded, that I have  
 “ done as imprudently as those, who after hav-  
 “ ing kill’d the Father, should spare the Lives  
 “ of his Sons. For I compel you, who have  
 “ been more than a Father to the Lydians, to  
 “ follow me as a Prisoner, and at the same time  
 “ have reinitated them in the Possession of their  
 “ City: And now shall I wonder at their Re-  
 “ bellion!” When *Cyrus* had thus plainly de-  
 liver’d his Thoughts, *Cræsus* fearing the utter  
 Ruin of *Sardis*, answer’d; “ Sir, You have  
 “ but too much Reason for what you say; yet  
 “ you will do better to moderate your Indigna-  
 “ tion, and not to destroy an ancient City, al-  
 “ together innocent of this, as well as of the  
 “ former Offence. I my self committed the  
 “ first Fault, and am now actually under the  
 “ Punishment. But as *Pactyas*, who was en-  
 “ trusted by you, is guilty of this second; let  
 “ him be treated as his Crime deserves, and let  
 “ the Lydians be pardon’d. Yet to the End  
 “ they may never more revolt, nor be trouble-  
 “ some to you, command all their Arms to be  
 “ taken away; and enjoin them to wear Vests  
 “ and Buskins, and to teach their Sons to sing,  
 “ to play on the Harp, and to drink in Publick  
 “ Houses. For by these Means you will soon  
 “ see the manly Spirit of the Lydians degene-  
 “ rate into a womanish Weakness; so that they  
 “ will never rebel, nor be formidable to you in  
 “ time to come.” *Cræsus* suggested this Me-  
 thod to *Cyrus*, because he judg’d the Lydians  
 would



would be less unhappy under such Circumstances, than if they should be sold for Slaves; and was persuaded, that unless he could frame some plausible Pretext, he should not prevail with him to alter his Resolution: Neither was he without Apprehension, that if the Lydians should otherwise escape the present Danger, they might hereafter revolt from the Persians, and bring utter Ruin on themselves. *Cyrus* pleas'd with the Expedient, told *Cræsus* he would take his Advice; and sending for *Mazares* a Mede, commanded him to order the Lydians to conform themselves to the Regulations propos'd by *Cræsus*; and to treat all those as Slaves, who had assisted in the Attempt upon *Sardis*; but above all, to bring *Pactyas* alive to him: And having given these Orders in his Way, he return'd to *Persia*.

*PACTYAS* being inform'd that the Army was approaching with Design to fall upon him, fled in great Consternation to *Cyme*; and *Mazares* with that part of the Persian Forces he had, march'd directly to *Sardis*. But not finding *Pactyas* and his Followers there, he in the first place constrain'd the Lydians to conform themselves to the Orders prescrib'd by *Cyrus*, and totally to alter their Manner of Life: After which he dispatch'd Messengers to *Cyme*, with Instructions to demand the Person of *Pactyas*. The *Cymæans* call'd a Council on this Occasion, and resolv'd to consult the ancient Oracle of *Branchis*, which was frequented by all the Ionians and *Æolians*, and stands in the Territory of *Miletus*, a little above the Port of *Panormus*. When the Persons, who were sent to the Oracle, arriv'd at *Branchis*, and pray'd to be in-

form'd what they should do, that might be most pleasing to the Gods, they were commanded to deliver *Paëtyas* to the Persians: Which Answer being brought to the Cymæans, determin'd the Majority to decree that he should be surrender'd accordingly. But after they had taken that Resolution, *Aristodicus* the Son of *Heraclides*, one of the principal Men of the City, either distrusting the Faith of the Oracle, or suspecting the Sincerity of the Consulters, prevail'd with the Cymæans to suspend the Execution of their Decree, and to send other Persons to enquire a second time concerning *Paëtyas*. By this means another Deputation was resolv'd, and *Aristodicus* was chosen for one; who arriving with the other Deputies at *Branchis*, consulted the Oracle in the Name of the rest, using these Words;

“ O King, *Paëtyas* the Lydian came to us as a  
 “ Suppliant, to avoid a violent Death from the  
 “ Hands of the Persians. They have demanded  
 “ him of the Cymæans, and resolve to admit no  
 “ Denial. We who are under great Apprehen-  
 “ sions of the Persian Power, have not yet dar'd  
 “ to surrender the Suppliant, 'till we shall be  
 “ plainly inform'd by thee, what we ought to  
 “ do in this Conjunction.” Thus spoke *Aristo-*  
*dicus*; but the Oracle gave the same Answer as  
 before, and again admonish'd them to surrender  
*Paëtyas* to the Persians. Upon which *Aristodi-*  
*cus*, in pursuance of the Design he had form'd,  
 walking round the Temple, took away all the  
 Sparrows, and other Birds he found in the Nests  
 that were within the Limits of the Place: And  
 when he had so done, 'tis reported, a Voice was  
 heard from the innermost Part of the Temple,  
 directing these Words to *Aristodicus*; “ O thou  
 “ most

“ most wicked of all Men, how dar’st thou  
 “ thus tear my Suppliants from under my Pro-  
 “ tection? ” *Aristodicus* readily answer’d, “ Art  
 “ thou then so careful to succour thy Suppliants,  
 “ and yet so forward to command the Cymæ-  
 “ ans to abandon *Paëtys* to the Persians? ”  
 “ Yes, said the Voice, I command it; that  
 “ such impious Men as you are may suddenly  
 “ perish, and never more disturb the Oracle  
 “ with Questions of like Nature.” When this  
 last Answer was brought to *Cyme*, the People,  
 being unwilling either to surrender *Paëtys* to  
 be destroy’d by the Persians, or to draw a War  
 upon themselves by protecting him, sent him  
 away to *Mitylene*. Some say the Mitylenæans,  
 upon a Message they receiv’d from *Mazares*, a-  
 greed to deliver *Paëtys* into his Hands for a  
 certain Reward; but I cannot affirm this, be-  
 cause the thing was never effected. For the Cy-  
 mæans being inform’d of what was doing in  
*Mitylene*, dispatch’d a Vessel to *Lesbos*, and  
 transported *Paëtys* to *Chio*: Where he was  
 taken by Violence from the Temple of *Miner-  
 va*, Protectress of the City, and deliver’d up by  
 the Chians: Who in Recompence were put in-  
 to Possession of *Atarneus*, a Place situate in *My-  
 sia*, over against *Lesbos*. In this manner *Paëtys*  
 fell into the Hands of the Persians, and was kept  
 under Confinement, in order to be conducted to  
*Cyrus*. And for a long time after this Action,  
 none of the Chians would use the Barley of *A-  
 tarneus* in their Offerings to the Gods, or make  
 any Confection of the Fruits produc’d by that  
 Country; but totally abstain’d from the whole  
 Growth of those Lands in all their Temples.



WHEN the Chians had deliver'd up *Paëtyas*, *Mazares* march'd with his Forces against those who had assisted in besieging *Tabalus*; and having first destroy'd *Priene*, and ravag'd all the Plain that lies by the River *Mæander*, he abandon'd the Booty to his Army. But after he had treated the *Magnesian*s in the same manner, he fell sick and died. Upon which, *Harpagus*, who was also a Mede, and the same Person, that having been entertain'd by *Astyages* at an execrable Feast, had open'd a Way for *Cyrus* to ascend to the Throne, came down to command the Army in his place. This Man being appointed General by *Cyrus*, and arriving in *Ionian*a, took several Cities, by throwing up Earth-works to the Walls, after he had forc'd the People to retire within their fortified Places. *Phocæa* was the first of the *Ionian* Cities that fell into his Hands. These *Phocæans* were the first of all the *Grecians* who undertook long Voyages, and discover'd the Coasts of *Adria*, *Tyrrhenia*, *Iberia* and *Tartessus*. They made their Expeditions in Gallies of fifty Oars, and us'd no Ships of a rounder Form. When they arriv'd at *Tartessus*, they were kindly receiv'd by *Arganthonius* the King of that Country, who had then reign'd fourscore Years, and liv'd to the Age of one Hundred and twenty. They had so much of his Favour, that he at first solicited them to leave *Ionian*a, and to settle in any Part of his Kingdom they should chuse; but afterwards finding he could not prevail with the *Phocæans* to accept his Offer, and hearing they were in great Danger from the increasing Power of the Medes, he presented them with Treasure to defray the Expence of building a Wall round their

their City; which he did with so liberal a Hand, that the whole Structure, comprehending no small Number of Stades in Circumference, was built with large and well compacted Stone. *Harpagus* arriving with his Army before this City, first sent a Message to acquaint the Phocæans within, that if they would demolish one of the Towers built upon their Wall, and consecrate one Edifice, he would rest contented. The Phocæans detesting Slavery, answer'd, That they would take one Day to deliberate touching his Proposal, if in the mean time he would draw off his Forces from about the City. *Harpagus* said, That though he well knew their Design; yet he would permit them to consult together, as they desir'd. But when he had withdrawn his Army, the Phocæans made ready their Ships; and having put their Wives, Children, and Goods on board, together with the Images and other things dedicated in their Temples, except Pictures, and Works of Brass or Stone, they themselves embark'd likewise, and set sail for *Chio*: So that the Persians at their Return found the City desolate, and abandon'd by all the Inhabitants. The Phocæans arriving in *Chio*, desir'd to purchase the *Ænussian Islands* of the Chians; but because the Chians would not consent to sell them, lest they should become the Seat of Trade, and their own Island be excluded, they embark'd again, directing their Course to *Cyrnus*; where, by the Admonition of an Oracle, they had built a City, which they nam'd *Alalia*, twenty Years before. In their Passage to *Cyrnus*, turning in at *Phocæa*, they cut in pieces the Persian Garrison left by *Harpagus* in the City; and about the same time

*Arganthorius* died. Having destroy'd these Persians, they pronounc'd terrible Imprecations against those who should stay behind; and bound themselves by mutual Oaths, never to return to *Phocæa*, till a burning Ball of Iron, which they threw into the Sea on that Occasion, should appear again unextinguish'd. Nevertheless, as they were making towards *Cyrnus*, more than one half of the Fleet, mov'd by Regret and Affection for their native Country, broke through all these Engagements, and return'd to *Phocæa*; while the rest resolving to observe the Oaths they had taken, pursued their Voyage from the *Ænussian Islands* to *Cyrnus*. When they arriv'd there, they built divers Temples, and liv'd five Years in one Community with the former Colony. But because in that time they had ravag'd the Territories of all their Neighbours, the Tyrrhenians and Carthaginians combin'd together to make War against them, each Nation with sixty Ships. The Phocæans on their part fitted out their Fleet, consisting in all of sixty Sail also; and coming up with the Enemy in the Sea of *Sardinia*, fought and conquer'd; but obtain'd a Cadmæan Victory: For forty of their own Ships were sunk; and all the rest having lost their Prows, were utterly disabled. After this Action, returning to *Alalia*, they put their Wives and Children on board again, with as much of their Goods as they could carry off, and leaving *Cyrnus*, sail'd to *Rhegium*. Of those Phocæans that lost their Ships in the Fight, many fell into the Hands of the Carthaginians and Tyrrhenians; who at their landing ston'd them to Death in the Territory of *Agylla*. After which, all the Men and  
Cattle



Cattle that came into those Parts, were seiz'd with a burning Distemper, attended by Convulsions and Madnefs. In this Extremity the Agyllians being desirous to expiate the Crime, had Recourse to the Oracle of *Delphi*; and the Pythian enjoin'd them to use those Rites which they still observe; for they commemorate the Death of the Phocæans with great Magnificence, and Gymnastick Combats. This was the Fate of these Phocæans; and as for the rest, who fled to *Rhegium*, they left that Place, and in *Ænotria* built a City, which is now call'd *Hyele*, by the Advice of a certain Posidonian; who told them they had mistaken the Oracle, and that the Pythian meant they should build a Monument for *Cyrnus* the Hero, and not a City in the Island of that Name.

THE Conduct of the Teians in this Conjunction was not unlike that of the Phocæans: For when *Harpagus*, by the Advantage of his Earthworks, had made himself Master of their Walls, all the Teians went on board their Ships, and transporting themselves to *Thrace*, settled in the City of *Abdera*; which *Timesius* of *Clazomene* had formerly founded; but was afterwards driven out by the Thracians, who would not suffer him to continue in Possession of the Place; where yet he is honour'd as a Hero at this time by the Teians of *Abdera*. These were the only People of all the Ionians, who chose rather to abandon their Country, than submit to Servitude. The rest, except the Milesians, were conquer'd by *Harpagus*, after they had as strenuously defended their several Cities, as those who left the Country; and when they were forc'd to surrender to a superior Power, they continued

continued to inhabit the same Places, and submitted to the Will of the Conqueror. But the Milesians having made a League with *Cyrus*, as I said before, kept themselves quiet during these Commotions. And in this manner the Ionians of the Continent were a second time conquer'd; which put the Islanders under such Consternation, that they readily made their Submission to *Cyrus*. Yet, as the Ionians, even in these Circumstances, were permitted to meet in the Pan-Ionian Council, I am inform'd that *Bias* of *Priene* offer'd them such salutary Advice in one of those Assemblies, that if they had hearken'd to him, they might have been the most happy of all the Grecians. For he counsell'd the Ionians to transport themselves in their Ships to *Sardinia*, and to have only one Capital City there, for the Use of the whole Confederacy; by which means they would not only be deliver'd from Servitude; but inhabiting the most considerable of the Islands, could not fail of leading and governing all the rest: Whereas should they continue in *Ionia*, he saw no Hope of recovering their Liberty. This was the Counsel of *Bias* the Prienean, after the Ionians were subdued; but *Thales* the Milesian, who was of Phoenician Descent, gave them the most useful Advice before that Calamity happen'd, in admonishing the Ionians to constitute one general Council of the whole League in the City of *Teos*, which stands in the Centre of *Ionia*; and to esteem all the rest of the inhabited Cities as so many equal Parts of the same Community. Such were the Sentiments of those two Persons.

*HARPAGUS* having subdu'd *Ionia*, led his Army, which he reinforc'd with Ionians and *Æolians*, against the Carians, Caunians, and Lycians. The Carians came from the Islands to inhabit on the Continent. They were antiently call'd *Leleges*, and liv'd in the Islands under the Protection of *Minos*, paying no kind of Tribute, that I could ever find by enquiring into the remotest Times. But when he had occasion for Mariners, they assisted him with their Ships in the great Conquests he made, and rais'd themselves to a higher Degree of Reputation than any other Nation. They were the Inventers of three things now in Use among the Grecians. For the Carians were the first who wore a Crest upon their Helmets; adorn'd their Shields with various Figures; and invented the Handle, by which they are manag'd; whereas before this Invention, the Shield hung about the Soldier's Neck by a Thong of Leather, and descended by the Left Shoulder. After a long time, the Dorians and Ionians abandon'd the Islands likewise, as the Carians had done, and settled on the Continent: And this Account the Cretans give of the Carians. But the Carians not assenting to these things, affirm they were originally Inhabitants of the Continent, and always went under the same Name. In Testimony of which they shew an antient Temple at *Mylasa*, dedicated to the Carian *Jupiter*; where the Mysians and Lydians are admitted to participate with the Carians in their Worship, as Nations of the same Blood. For, say they, *Lydus* and *Mysus* were Brothers to *Cares*, and on that account the use of this Temple is communicated to their Posterity, and not  
to



to any other People, tho' of the same Language with the Carians. The Caunians, as I conjecture, are originally of the Country they inhabit, tho' they say their Ancestors came from *Crete*. But whether they have accommodated their Language to that of the Carians, or the Carians have form'd their Speech by the Caunian, I cannot determine with Certainty. In their Customs and Manners the Caunians resemble no other Nation, not even the Carians; accounting it a decent thing in Men, Women, and Boys, to drink in great Companies, with their Friends, and with those of the same Age. They antiently worshipp'd the Gods of other Nations; but afterwards changing their Opinion, and resolving to have no other than their own national Deities, they all arm'd themselves, and in a petulant manner brandishing their Spears in the Air, march'd up to the Mountains of *Calinda*, crying as they went, That they were expelling the Foreign Gods out of their Country. The Lycians derive their Original from *Crete*, which in antient time was entirely in the Possession of Barbarians. But *Sarpedon* and *Minos*, the Sons of *Europa*, contending for the Kingdom; *Sarpedon* being defeated by *Minos*, was driven out of the Island with all his Partizans, and landing in *Asia*, settled in *Milyas*; for that was the antient Name of the Country which the Lycians now inhabit, tho' the Milyans were then call'd *Solyimi*. During the Reign of *Sarpedon* they went by the Name they brought with them into *Asia*; and in our Time are by their Neighbours call'd Termilians. But when *Lycus* the Son of *Pandion* was compell'd by his Brother *Ægeus* to quit *Athens*,  
 he

he fled to *Sarpedon* at *Termile*, and from him the People began to be nam'd Lycians. Their Customs are, for the most part, deriv'd from the Cretans and Carians ; but they have one peculiar to themselves, in which they differ from all other Nations. For they take their Names from their Mothers, and not from their Fathers ; so that if any one be ask'd who he is, and of what Family, he recounts his Maternal Genealogy, in the Female Line. Besides, if a free-born Woman marry a Servant, her Children enjoy the full Privilege of Citizens ; but should a Man of ever so high Dignity marry a Foreigner or a Concubine, his Children would be incapable of any Honour.

THE Carians were subdu'd by *Harpagus*, without doing any memorable Action in their Defence : And all the Grecians that inhabit those Parts, behav'd themselves with as little Courage. Among these were the Cnidians, a Lacedemonian Colony, whose Territories descend to the *Triopian Sea*. This Region, except the Isthmus of *Byblefia*, which is no more than five Stades in Breadth, is surrounded by the Sea, having on the North side the *Ceraunian Gulph*, and on the South-West the *Rhodian* and *Symeian Seas*. The Cnidians there, while the Arms of *Harpagus* were employ'd in the Conquest of *Ionia*, form'd a Design to cut thro' the Isthmus, and to make their Country an Island. But as they were carrying on that Work with great Diligence, the Shivers of the Stones broken by their Instruments, flew about so thick, and wounded so many Men in the Body, and particularly in the Eyes, that falling into great Consternation, and imagining some Divine Power had interpos'd, they sent to inquire

quire of the Delphian Oracle concerning this Obstruction ; and, as the Cnidians say, had the following Answer from the Pythian ;

*Build here no Tow'rs, nor thro' the Isthmus cut :  
Had the God pleas'd that this should be an Isle,  
The Sea had wash'd your Coast in ev'ry Part.*

Upon the Reception of this Oracle, the Cnidians desisted from their Work, and when *Harpagus* appear'd with his Army, surrender'd without Resistance. But the Pedasæans inhabiting a mid-land Country situate above *Halicarnassus*, were the only People of *Caria* that oppos'd *Harpagus* with Vigour. For retiring to a Mountain call'd *Lyda*, they fortified and defended themselves valiantly, and were not subdued without great Difficulty. When any sinister Event is about to fall upon the Pedasæans and their Neighbours, a long Beard shoots suddenly upon the Chin of *Minerva's* Priestess ; and this Prodigy has thrice happen'd. After these Successes, *Harpagus* drew his Army into the Plain, in order to attack the Lycians of *Xanthus* ; who, tho' they were few in Number, yet having assembled what Forces they could, took the Field, and fought the Persians with great Courage. But being overpowered with Numbers, and forc'd to retire into the City, they put their Wives, Children, and Servants, with all their Riches, into the Castle, and set fire to the Place. Which when they had done, and all was burnt, they engag'd themselves by the strongest Oaths to dye together, and to that end returning into the Field of Battle, they renew'd the Fight, and were cut in pieces to the last Man. All the Xanthian Lycians



cians of our Age are descended from Strangers, except eighty Families, which being absent at the time of this Invasion, escap'd with Life. Thus *Xanthus* fell into the hands of *Harpagus*; and *Caunia* almost in the same manner; for the Caunians were accustom'd to follow the Example of the Lycians.

W H I L E *Harpagus* subdued the Lower, *Cyrus* conquer'd the Upper *Asia*, without sparing any Nation he found in his Way. But I shall forbear to mention the greater part of his Actions, and content my self to relate the most memorable; especially such as were attended with the greatest Difficulty. When he had reduc'd all the Continent of *Asia*, he resolv'd to invade *Assyria*, which contains many famous Cities; but the principal in Strength and Name is *Babylon*, where the Seat of the Kingdom was fix'd after the Destruction of *Ninus*. *Babylon* stands in a spacious Plain, and being perfectly square, shews a Front, on every side, of One hundred and twenty Stades, which make up the Sum of Four hundred and eighty Stades in the whole Circumference. This City, so great in Dimension, is more magnificently built than any other we know. In the first place, a wide and deep Ditch, always supplied with Water, encompasses the Wall; which is two hundred Royal Cubits in Height, and fifty in Breadth; every Royal Cubit containing three Digits more than the common Measure. And here I think my self oblig'd to give some Account, how the Babylonians employ'd the Earth that was taken out of so large a Ditch, and in what Manner the Wall was built. As they open'd the Ground, and threw out the Earth, they  
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made Bricks ; and when they had shap'd a convenient Number, they bak'd them in Furnaces prepar'd for that Purpose. The Cement they us'd was a bituminous Substance heated on the Fire ; and every thirty Orders of Bricks were compacted together with an Intermixture of Reeds. With these Materials they first lin'd the Canal, and afterwards built the Wall in the same manner. Certain Edifices consisting only of one Floor, were plac'd on the Edges of the Wall, fronting each other, and a Space was left between those Buildings, sufficient for turning a Chariot with four Horses abreast. In the Circumference of the Wall one hundred Gates of Brass are seen, with Intablatures and Supporters of the same Metal, all of like Architecture. Eight Days Journey from *Babylon* stands another City, call'd *Is*, on a River of the same Name, that falls into the *Euphrates*, and brings down great Quantities of Brimstone in Lumps ; which being carried to *Babylon* was us'd in this Work : And thus the City was encompass'd with a Wall. *Babylon* consists of two Parts, separated from each other by the River *Euphrates* ; which descending from the Mountains of *Armenia*, becomes broad, deep, and rapid, and falls into the *Red Sea*. The Walls were brought down on both sides to the River, with some Inflexion at the Extremities ; from whence a Rampart of Brickwork was extended along the Edge of the River on both sides. The Houses of *Babylon* are of three and four Floors in Height ; and the principal Streets pass in a direct Line quite thro' the City. The rest traversing these in several Places, lead to the River ; and little Gates of Brass, equal in number to the

lesser Streets, are plac'd in the Ramparts which border the Stream. Within the first Wall, which is fortified with Towers, another is built, not much inferior in Strength, tho' not altogether so thick: And besides these, the Centre of each Division is wall'd round; containing in one part the Royal Palace, which is very spacious and strong; and in the other the Temple of *Jupiter Belus*; being a square Building, extended to the Length of two Stades on every side, and having Gates of Brass, as may still be seen in our Time. In the midst of this Temple stands a solid Tower, of one Stade in Height, and in Length and Breadth of the same Measure. On this Tower another is built, and a third upon that, till they make up the number of eight. The Ascent to these is by a circular way carried round the Outside of the Building to the highest Part. In the midst of the Ascent is a Place, where those who go up may rest themselves; and within the uppermost Tower a spacious Dome is built, in which a Table of Gold stands at the side of a magnificent Bed. No Image is seen in this Place, nor is any Mortal permitted to remain there by Night (as the Chaldæans, who are the Priests of this Temple, say) except only a Woman chosen by the God out of the whole Nation; affirming for a Truth, which nevertheless I think incredible, that the God comes by Night and lies in the Bed: which resembles the Account given by the Ægyptians of their Temple at *Thebes*. For there also a Woman lies in the Temple of *Jupiter*, and neither of these are suspected to have the Company of Men; any more than the Priestess of *Pataris* in *Lycia*; where,

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tho' they have not a constant Oracle, yet when an Answer is to be deliver'd, she is shut up during all the Night in the Temple.

IN a Chapel which stands below, within the Temple of *Babylon*, a large Image of Gold, representing *Jupiter* sitting, is plac'd on a Throne of Gold, at a Table of the same Metal, all together weighing eight hundred Talents, as the Chaldæans affirm. Without this Chapel is an Altar of Gold; and another of a greater Size, which is used when Cattle of full Age are sacrific'd; for on the Golden Altar no other than sucking Victims may be offer'd. On the great Altar the Chaldæans consume yearly the Weight of a thousand Talents in Incense, when they celebrate the Festival of this God. Besides these things, a Statue of solid Gold, twelve Cubits high, stood formerly in this Temple; which because I did not see, I shall only relate what I heard from the Chaldæans; who say, that *Darius* the Son of *Hystaspes*, having form'd a Design to take away this Statue, had not Courage to effect his Purpose: But that *Xerxes* the Son of *Darius*, not only took the Statue, but kill'd the Priest who had forbidden him to remove it. In this manner the Temple of *Jupiter Belus* is built and adorn'd; not to mention divers other Donations consecrated there by private Persons.

MANY Kings, whose Names I shall mention in my Discourses of the Assyrian Affairs, reign'd formerly in *Babylon*, and beautified the City with Temples and other publick Edifices: But none more than two Women. The first of these, nam'd *Semiramis*, liv'd five Generations before the  
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the other, and rais'd such Banks to prevent the Inundations of the River, which frequently overflow'd all the Plain of *Babylon*, as deserv'd Admiration. But the other, whose Name was *Nitocris*, having afterwards obtain'd the Kingdom, and being much more provident, not only left Monuments of herself, which I shall describe; but when she saw the Power of the Medes grown formidable and strong, and that they had taken the City of *Ninus*, with divers others, she made all imaginable Provision for the Defence of her Territories. To that end, in the first place she caus'd a Channel to be open'd above *Babylon*, with so many various Windings, to receive the Stream of the *Euphrates*, which before ran in a strait Line, that this River was made to touch no less than three several times at one single Town of *Assyria*, call'd *Arderica*; and all those who now ascend from the Sea by the way of *Babylon*, are necessitated to pass thrice by that Place in three several Days. Much higher than *Babylon*, at a little Distance from the *Euphrates*, she caus'd a spacious Lake to be made, four hundred and twenty Stades over on every side; and in Depth till the Workmen came to Water. She border'd the Edge of this Lake quite round with Stone, and all the Earth they threw out was dispos'd of, by her Direction, to augment the Banks of the River, which by that means are of an astonishing Height and Thickness. These two things she did, that the Current being broken by frequent Inflexions, the River might move on but slowly, and that the Capaciousness of the Lake might render the Navigation to *Babylon* long and difficult. All this was done in that Part of

the Country which lies next to the Medes, and is their shortest Way to *Babylon*; to the end they might have no Opportunities of discovering her Affairs by an easy Communication with the Assyrians. Both these Works she strengthen'd with a solid Facing from the Bottom, and erected another between the two Divisions of the City. For considering that *Babylon* was divided by the River into two Parts; and that all Persons who pass'd from one side to the other during the Reigns of former Kings, had been necessitated to make use of Boats, which in my Opinion was very troublesome; she provided the following Remedy; and after having sunk the Draining Lake I mention'd before, left this also for a Monument of her Fame. She order'd Stones to be cut of large Dimensions; and when they were ready, commanded a great Compass of Ground to be open'd, and the Current of the *Euphrates* to be turn'd into that Place. By this means, when the Water was drain'd out, and the antient Channel become dry, she lin'd the Banks of the River on both sides with a Facing of burnt Brick, below the little Gates that lead to the Water within the City, and cemented as the Walls had been. Which having done, she built a Bridge about the midst of the City with the Stones she had prepar'd; binding them together with Plates of Lead and Iron. Upon these Stones, Planks of squar'd Timber were laid by Day, that the Babylonians might pass over from one side to the other, but were remov'd at Night to prevent mutual Robberies. When the Lake was fill'd with the Water of the *Euphrates*, and the Bridge finish'd, she brought back the River to its antient



·tient Channel. This Invention of the Lake was much applauded ; and thus a Bridge was built for the Use of the Inhabitants. The same Queen laid this Snare for succeeding Time: She prepar'd a Sepulchre for her self over the most frequented Gate of the City, expos'd to open View with the following Inscription: IF ANY ONE OF MY SUCCESSORS, KINGS OF *BABYLON*, SHOULD FIND HIMSELF IN WANT OF MONEY, LET HIM OPEN THIS SEPULCHRE, AND TAKE AS MUCH AS HE SHALL THINK FIT: BUT IF HE BE NOT REDUC'D TO REAL WANT, HE OUGHT TO FORBEAR; OTHERWISE HE SHALL HAVE CAUSE TO REPENT. This Monument continued untouched to the Reign of *Darius*; who judging it unreasonable that the Gate should remain useless to the Inhabitants (for no Man would pass under a dead Body;) and an inviting Treasure be render'd unservicable, broke up the Sepulchre, and instead of Money found only the Body and these Words; HADST THOU NOT BEEN INSATIABLY COVETOUS, AND GREEDY OF THE MOST SORDID GAIN, THOU WOU'DST NOT HAVE VIOLATED THE SEPULCHRE OF THE DEAD. And this is the Account they give of *Nitocris* Queen of *Babylon*.

*CYRUS* made War against *Labynitus* the Son of this Queen, who had his Name and the Kingdom of *Assyria* from his Father. When the Great King leads his Army in Person, he has with him Cattle and other Provisions in abundance. The Water he drinks is brought from the River *Choaspes*, which runs by *Susa*; for

the Kings of *Persia* drink of no other. This Water being first boil'd, and preserv'd in Vessels of Silver, is loaded on many Waggon's drawn by Mules, and carried after him wheresoever he goes. *Cyrus* arriving at the River *Gyndes* in his March towards *Babylon*, endeavour'd to pass over with his Army; but that River was not fordable. The *Gyndes* rises in the Hills of *Matiene*, and descending thro' *Dardania*, falls into the *Tigris*; which passing by the City of *Opis*, runs out into the *Red Sea*. In the mean time one of those who were mounted on white Horses, accounted sacred among the Persians, with an audacious Petulancy push'd into the River; but the Current proving too strong, drew him suddenly with his Horse to the Bottom. *Cyrus*, much offended with the River for this Affront, threaten'd to render his Stream so contemptible, that Women should pass to either side without wetting their Knees. After which Menace, deferring his Expedition against *Babylon*, he divided his Army into two Parts; and having mark'd out one hundred and eighty Channels, by the Line, on each side of the River, commanded his Men to dig out the Earth. His Design was indeed executed, by the great Numbers he employ'd; but the whole Summer was spent in the Work. Thus *Cyrus* punish'd the River *Gyndes*, by draining the Stream into three hundred and sixty Trenches; and in the beginning of the next Spring advanc'd with his Army towards *Babylon*. Upon his Approach the *Babylonians*, who in expectation of his coming had drawn out their Forces, gave him Battle, and being defeated fled back to the City. But having been long acquainted with the  
restless

restless Spirit of *Cyrus*, and his Custom of attacking all Nations without Distinction, they had laid up Provisions for many Years, and were under no Apprehensions about a Siege. On the other hand, *Cyrus* himself finding much Time consum'd, and his Affairs not at all advanc'd, fell into great doubt what he should do next ; when at last, either by the Suggestion of some other Person, or of his own sagacious Invention, he resolv'd upon the following Stratagem. He posted one part of his Army near the place where the River enters *Babylon*, and the rest in another Station below, where the same River leaves the City ; with order to enter, so soon as they should see the Channel passable. Having given this Direction, and encourag'd his Forces, he went with the useless Part of his Men to the Lake, and did as the Queen of *Babylon* had done. For by opening a large Trench, he turn'd the Stream into the Lake, and by that means the River subsiding, the antient Channel became fordable : Which the Persians, who were appointed to that purpose, observing, put their Orders in execution, and boldly enter'd the City, having the Water no higher than the middle of the Thigh. Yet if the Babylonians had been well inform'd, or had foreseen the Attempt of *Cyrus*, they would doubtless have destroy'd his Army, and not have supinely suffer'd the Persians to pass. For by shutting all the little Gates that lead down to the River, and mounting the Brickworks that run along the Key, they might have taken them in a kind of Cage ; whereas having no Suspicion of such a Design, they were unexpectedly surpriz'd by the Persians. The Extent of the City was



such, that, if we may believe the Babylonians, when those who inhabited near the Centre were taken, the People that dwelt about the Extremities of *Babylon* heard nothing of their Disaster; but were celebrating a Festival that Day with Dancing and all manner of Rejoicing, till they receiv'd certain Information of the general Fate. And thus *Babylon* was the first time taken.

AMONG many things which I shall mention, to shew the Power and Wealth of the Babylonians, this is one. That, whereas all the Dominions of the *Great King* are charg'd with providing Subsistence for his Person and Armies, over and above the usual Tribute; the Territory of *Babylon* contributes as much as is sufficient for four of the twelve Months that make up the Year, all the rest of *Asia* furnishing no more than for eight Months only: So that the Country of *Assyria* alone is accounted equivalent to one half of all the other Parts of *Asia*. The Government of this Region, which the Persians call a Satrapy, is much more considerable than any other, and yielded an Artabe of Silver every Day to *Tritachmes* the Son of *Artabazus*, who was appointed Governour by the King. The Artabe is a Persian Measure containing three Choenixes more than the Attick Medimnus. Besides this Revenue, and his Horses for War, a Studd of eight hundred Stallions, and sixteen thousand Mares, one Horse to twenty Mares, was kept for him at the Expence of the Country: And his Indian Dogs were so many, that four considerable Towns in the Plain were exempted from all other Taxes, on condition to provide Food for those Animals.

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Such Advantages belong'd to the Governor of *Babylon*. Little Rain falls in *Affyria*; but the Root of the Corn is nourish'd in another Manner; and though the Earth is not water'd by the overflowing of the River, as in *Ægypt*; yet the Hands of Men and watering Engines, invented for that purpose, supply the Lands with a sufficient Quantity of Moisture. For all the Country about *Babylon* is, like *Ægypt*, divided by frequent Canals; of which the largest is navigable, and beginning at the *Euphrates*, descends towards the Winter Solstice, and falls into the River *Tigris*, where the City of *Ninus* formerly stood. No part of the known World produces so good Wheat; but the Vine, the Olive and the Fig-tree, were never seen in this Country. Yet in Recompence it abounds so much in Corn, as to yield at all times an Increase of two hundred for one; and even three hundred, when the Year is extraordinary fruitful, and the Climate seems to outdo it self. Wheat and Barley carry a Blade four full Digits in Breadth: And though I well know to what a surprizing Height Milet and Sesama grow in those Parts, I shall be silent in that Particular; because the Truth would seem incredible to all those who have never been at *Babylon*. They use no other Oil than such as is drawn from Sesama. The Palm-tree grows naturally over all the Plain; and the greater Part bears Fruit; with which they make Bread, Wine, and Honey. This Tree is cultivated as the Fig-tree; and they tie the Fruit of that which the Grecians call the Male Palm, about those Trees that bear Dates, to the End that a Gnat may enter and ripen the Fruit; lest otherwise the

Gland

Gland fall before Maturity ; for the Fruit of the Male Palm, like that of the wild Fig-tree, produces a Gnat. But the thing which, next to the City, seems most wonderful to me, is this : The Vessels that descend the River to *Babylon*, are round, and in great Measure compos'd of Skins. For when they have cut the Ribbs out of Willows growing in the Hills of *Armenia* above *Babylon*, they cover them with Hides extended on the Outside, to serve for a Bottom ; making no Distinction of Stem or Stern. These Vessels thus shap'd in the Form of a Buckler, they stow with Reeds, and venture upon the River, freighted with Merchandize, and especially with Casks of Palm-Wine. Two Men standing upright with a Pole in the Hand of each, one pulling to, and the other putting off from himself, direct the Course of these Boats ; some of which are very large, and others of a less Size ; but the most capacious carry the Weight of five thousand Talents. Every Vessel has an Ass on Board, and the greatest more. For after they arrive at *Babylon*, and have dispos'd of their Goods, they sell the Ribbs of the Boat with the Reeds ; and loading the Hides on the Asses, return by Land to *Armenia* ; the River not being navigable upwards, by reason of the Rapidity of the Stream. For this Cause they use Skins, rather than Timber, in fitting up these Vessels ; and at their Return to *Armenia*, they build more after the same manner. Such is the Account of that Navigation. For their Dress, they wear a Linen Shirt down to the Feet, upon which they have a Vest of Woollen Cloth, and a white Mantle over all. Their Shoes are made  
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in a Fashion peculiar to the Country, not unlike those of the Bœotians. They wear long Hair, covering the Head with a Mitre, and anoint the whole Body with perfum'd Oils. Every Man has a Ring with a Signet, and a Staff curiously wrought ; on the top of which is plac'd either an Apple, a Rose, a Lilly, or an Eagle or some other thing ; for to wear a Stick without such an Ornament, is accounted indecent. Among their Customs, they had one most prudently establish'd ; and another, which I approve, and which, I hear, the Henetes of *Illyria* likewise use. In every District they annually assembled all the Virgins of marriageable Age on a certain Day ; and when the Men were come together, and stood round the Place, the Crier rising up, sold one after another, always proposing the most beautiful first ; and having sold her for a great Sum of Gold, he put up the Maid who was esteem'd second in Beauty. On this Occasion the richest of the Babylonians us'd to contend for the fairest Wife, and to outbid one another. But the Vulgar thinking they had no great need of handsome Women, were contented to take the ugly and lame with Money. For when all the beautiful Virgins were sold, the Crier order'd the most deform'd to stand up ; and after he had openly demanded, who would marry her with a small Sum, she was at length adjudg'd to the Man that would be satisfied with the least. And in this Manner the Money arising by the Sale of the handsome, serv'd for a Portion to those, who were either of disagreeable Looks, or under any other Imperfection of Body. A Father was not permitted to indulge his own Fancy in the Choice  
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of a Husband for his Daughter; neither might the Purchaser carry off the Woman he had bought, without giving sufficient Security to cohabit with her as his Wife: If he refus'd, he was oblig'd to restore the Money he had receiv'd. Yet Men of another District might come and buy if they thought fit. All these Precautions were taken, that Women might not be ill us'd, nor forc'd away into other Provinces. But this excellent Law, which in former time was strictly observ'd, is now totally abolish'd. For after the taking of *Babylon*, they suffer'd great Calamities, and were reduc'd to such Extremities in their private Fortunes, that all the meaner sort prostitute their Daughters for a Living. Another Custom they have, which deserves the second Praise. All sick Persons are brought out into the most frequented Places, (for they use no Physicians;) and as those who come thither, always enquire concerning the Disease of the Patient, when they find that they have been afflicted with the same, or have seen others in a like Condition, they advise him to do as they did to cure themselves, or as others, they knew, had done in the same Case. For, to pass silently before the sick, without enquiring into the Nature of their Distemper, is among them accounted a Crime. They embalm the dead in Honey, and their funeral Lamentations are like those of the *Ægyptians*. When a Babylonian designs to accompany with his Wife, he first burns Incense, sitting on one side of the Fire, while she does the same on the other; and about break of Day they go both into a Bath, as the *Arabians* likewise do, refusing to touch any thing till they have wash'd.

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Nevertheless they have one establish'd Custom, which is infamous in the highest Degree. For every Woman is oblig'd, once in her Life, to sit down openly in the Temple of *Venus*, in order to prostitute her self to some Stranger. Yet because the most wealthy disdain to expose themselves in publick among the rest, many come in cover'd Chariots to the Gates of the Temple, and make that their Station, with a numerous Train of Servants attending at a Distance. But the far greater part enter into the Temple, and sit down crown'd with Garlands, some continually going out, and others coming in. The Galleries where they sit are built in a strait Line, and open on every side, that all Strangers may have a free Passage to chuse such Women as they like best. When a Woman has seated her self, she must not return home, till some Stranger throw a Piece of Silver into her Lap, and lie with her at some Distance from the Temple; using this Form as he gives her the Money. *I beseech the Goddess Mylitta to favour Thee*: For the Assyrians call *Venus* by that Name. The Law forbids any Woman to refuse this Present, how small soever, because such Money is accounted sacred: And commands her to follow the first that offers it, without rejecting any Man. Having satisfied this Obligation, and perform'd her Duty to the Goddess, she returns home; and after that time is never more to be obtain'd by any Presents, how great soever. Those Women who excel in Beauty and Shape, are soon dismiss'd; but the Deform'd are sometimes necessitated to wait three or four Years, before they can satisfy the Law. The Cyprians have a Custom not unlike to this in some Parts  
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of the Island of *Cyprus*. The Babylonians have three Tribes among them, who eat nothing but Fish; which they order in this manner: When they have taken and dry'd the Fish in the Sun, they throw them into a Mortar; and after having reduc'd the whole Substance to a kind of Meal, they cleanse it through a linen Search; making it up into Cakes, as they have occasion, and baking it as Bread. And these are the Customs of the Babylonians.

*CYRUS* having subdued this Nation, grew very desirous to conquer the Massagetes, who are accounted a great and valiant People. They inhabit towards the East and the Rising-Sun beyond the River *Araxes*, over against the Issedonians; and some say they are Scythians. Many think the *Araxes* to be greater than the *Ister*, and others, less; containing, as they say, divers Islands, equal to *Lesbos* in Circumference, and inhabited by Men, who during the Summer feed upon all manner of Roots, which they dig out of the Ground, and for their Winter Provision lay up the ripe Fruits they find upon the Trees. They add, that a certain Tree growing in this Country, produces Fruit of such a Nature, that when the Inhabitants meet together in Company, and throw a Quantity of it upon the Fire, they become intoxicated as they sit round the Steam, no less than the Grecians by drinking Wine: That the more they fling on, the more drunk they grow, and that when they find themselves in this Condition, they rise up to dance and sing. In this manner these Islanders are reported to live. The *Araxes* descends from the Hills of *Matiene*, (as I observ'd before of the River *Gyndes*, which *Cyrus* turn'd into three hundred

hundred and fixty Trenches,) and, except one Stream which runs into the *Caspian Sea*, discharges all its Waters by forty several Passages into certain Fens and Lakes; where 'tis said the Inhabitants feed only upon raw Fish, and cloath themselves in the Skins of Sea-Calves. The *Caspian* has no Communication with any other Sea; whereas that which the Grecians navigate, together with the *Red Sea*, and the *Atlantick*, lying beyond the Columns of *Hercules*, are but one Sea. The Length of the *Caspian* is as much as a Vessel with Oars can make in fifteen Days; and to cross the Breadth in the widest Part, requires eight. This Sea is bounded on the West by Mount *Caucasus*, the greatest and highest of all Mountains; containing many different Nations, who for the most part live upon such things as the Earth produces without Cultivation. In this Country, 'tis said, they have a certain Tree, the Leaf of which, when bruised and diluted with Water, serves to paint the Figures of various Animals on their Garments, with a Colour that never fades; that these Figures are not wash'd out by Water; but continue to wear as if they had been woven in the Cloth; and that these People never conceal themselves when they use the Company of Women, any more than do Cattle. Mount *Caucasus*, as I said before, is extended on the West of the *Caspian Sea*; and on the East, towards the rising of the Sun, lies a Plain of immense Extent. The greater Part of this Country is inhabited by the Massagetes, against whom *Cyrus* was so vehemently inclin'd to make War. The Motives that push'd him on to this Enterprize, were many and powerful; principally, because

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because his Birth had inspir'd him with an Opinion that he was something above a Man ; and good Fortune had so constantly attended him, in all his military Expeditions, that he had conquer'd as many Nations as he had attack'd. The Massagetes were at this time under the Government of *Tomyris*, who had been Wife to their last King: And this gave *Cyrus* a Pretext to send Ambassadors to her, with Proposals of Marriage in his Name. But *Tomyris* believing he only courted the Kingdom, and not her Person, sent to forbid them to proceed in their Journey. Upon this *Cyrus* perceiving his Artifice ineffectual, pull'd off the Mask ; and openly advancing with his Army against the Massagetes, arriv'd at the River *Araxes* ; over which he laid Bridges of Boats for the Passage of his Forces, and fortified those Bridges with Towers. Whilst he was employ'd in this Work, *Tomyris* sent him a Message by a Herald, in these Terms ; “ King  
“ of the Medes, desist from the Enterprize  
“ thou hast begun with so great Diligence ; for  
“ thou art not sure the End will prove fortunate. Be contented to govern thy own Dominions, and suffer us to rule the Country  
“ we possess. But if thou wilt not hearken to  
“ my Counsel, and art resolv'd to prefer every  
“ thing before Peace ; in a Word, if thou hast  
“ so great a Desire to make Trial of thy Forces  
“ against the Massagetes, toil no longer in vain  
“ to build Bridges over the *Araxes* ; but pass  
“ boldly to this side, whilst I retire with my  
“ Army full three Days March from the River :  
“ Or, if this Condition please thee not, receive  
“ us into thy Territories on the same Terms.”

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When *Cyrus* heard this Message, he call'd a Council of all the principal Persians ; and after he had laid the Proposal before them, and demanded their Opinion, they unanimously advis'd him to let *Tomyris* pass with her Army into his Dominions. But *Cræsus* the Lydian, who was present in the Assembly, disapproving their Counsel, spoke thus to *Cyrus* ; “ SIR, in Pur-  
 “ suance of the Promise I made you, when *Ju-*  
 “ *piter* deliver'd me into your Hands, I will al-  
 “ ways, to the utmost of my Power, endea-  
 “ vour to prevent the Misfortunes I see impend-  
 “ ing over your Head ; and my own Calami-  
 “ ties, however severe, have contributed some-  
 “ thing to my Instruction. If you think your  
 “ self immortal, and your Army to have the  
 “ like Prerogative, 'tis needless for me to tell  
 “ you my Opinion. But if you know you are  
 “ no more than a Man ; and that the Forces  
 “ you command are Men likewise, consider, in  
 “ the first place, that the continual Rotation  
 “ of human Affairs never suffers the same Per-  
 “ son to be always prosperous. For this, and  
 “ other Reasons, I am oblig'd to dissent from  
 “ the Advice of all this Assembly, touching the  
 “ Question now before us. For if we deter-  
 “ mine to receive the Enemy into this Coun-  
 “ try, and happen to be defeated, you will be  
 “ in Danger of losing all your Dominions ; be-  
 “ cause no Man can imagine, that after such a  
 “ Victory the Massagetes would presently retire  
 “ with their Forces ; but rather immediately  
 “ fall upon your Territories : And if you should  
 “ conquer, the Advantage of your Victory  
 “ could be no way comparable to those you will  
 “ obtain by beating them in their own Country,

“ and vigorously pursuing their broken Troops.  
“ For I am persuaded, that such Success im-  
“ prov’d with Diligence, would enable you to  
“ subdue the whole Kingdom of *Tomyris* with-  
“ out more Resistance. Besides, the Disgrace  
“ is too great and intolerable, for *Cyrus* the  
“ Son of *Cambyfes* to retreat before a Woman.  
“ My Opinion therefore is, that you would re-  
“ solve to pass the River; and when you are ad-  
“ vanc’d near the Enemy, then to use the fol-  
“ lowing Stratagem, in order to surprize their  
“ Forces. I have heard the *Massagetes* live  
“ hardly, and are unacquainted with the delici-  
“ ous Tables of the Persians. And therefore I  
“ advise that great Numbers of Cattle, kill’d  
“ and dress’d, with Plenty of unmix’d Wine,  
“ and all other Provisions in abundance, should  
“ be prepar’d in our Camp for these Men; and  
“ that leaving the weakest of our Forces behind,  
“ all the rest should return towards the River:  
“ For the *Massagetes*, if I mistake not, when  
“ they see so much exquisite Fare, will not fail  
“ to fall on immediately, and by that means af-  
“ ford us an Occasion of striking a Blow of  
“ Importance.” Of these two Opinions, *Cyrus*  
rejected the first; and approving that of *Cræsus*,  
sent a Message to *Tomyris*, requiring her to re-  
tire, whilst he should pass the *Araxes* with his  
Army. The Queen mindful of her Promise,  
did as he desir’d: And after *Cyrus* had committed  
the Care of the Kingdom, and of *Cræsus*, to his  
Son *Cambyfes*; commanding him, if the Expe-  
dition against the *Massagates* should prove unfor-  
tunate, to honour *Cræsus*, and treat him with  
Favour, he dismiss’d both, with Orders to return  
to *Persia*, and pass the River with all his Forces.

CYRUS

*CYRUS* having pass'd the *Araxes*, enter'd the Country of the *Massagetes*; and in the Night dream'd he saw the eldest Son of *Hystaspes* with Wings on his Shoulders; which he spread, and shaded *Asia* with one, and *Europe* with the other. *Hystaspes* the Son of *Arsames* was of the *Achæmenian* Blood, and the Name of his eldest Son was *Darius*; who having then scarce attain'd to the Age of twenty Years, had been left in *Persia*, as too young to sustain the Hardships of War. *Cyrus* awaking, consider'd his Dream with Attention; and judging it to be of the last Consequence, sent for *Hystaspes*, and taking him aside, said; "*Hystaspes*, thy Son has form'd a Design against me and my Government, and I will tell thee how I know this with Certainty. The Gods, solicitous for my Preservation, ever give me timely Notice of all impending Dangers: And therefore last Night as I slept, I saw in a Dream the eldest of thy Sons, having Wings on his Shoulders; with one of which he cover'd *Europe*; and *Asia* with the other. For this Cause I order thee to return immediately to *Persia*, and to take Care, that when I come home with Victory, thy Son may be ready to answer for himself." These Words *Cyrus* said, in a full Persuasion that *Darius* had form'd a Design against him: But the *Dæmon* by this previous Admonition signified, that he should die in the Enterprize he had undertaken, and that his Kingdom should be transferr'd to *Darius*. *Hystaspes* answer'd, "God forbid, O King, that one who is born a Persian, should conspire against thee! But if any such be found, may sudden Destruction overtake him."



“ For thou hast not only enfranchis’d the Per-  
 “ sians, who before were Servants ; but ad-  
 “ vanc’d them from the Condition of Slaves,  
 “ to the Power of commanding other Nations :  
 “ And therefore whatever Vision has represented  
 “ my Son contriving any thing against thee, I  
 “ freely surrender him to be treated in the man-  
 “ ner thou shalt command.” Having made this  
 Answer, *Hystaspes* repass’d the River *Araxes*, and  
 when he arriv’d in *Persia*, plac’d a Guard upon  
 his Son *Darius*.

IN the mean time *Cyrus* advanc’d one Day’s  
 March beyond the River ; and after some stay,  
 pursuant to the Counsel of *Cræsus*, retir’d again,  
 with all his best Troops ; leaving only the worst  
 of his Men behind him. These the *Massagetes*  
 attack’d with a third part of their Army, and  
 after some Resistance, cut in pieces. Which  
 having done, and seeing a plentiful Feast pre-  
 par’d, they eat and drank to such Excess, that  
 they fell asleep upon the spot. In this Con-  
 dition they were surpriz’d by the Persians, who  
 kill’d many, and took a greater Number Pri-  
 soners ; among them *Spargapises*, Son to *Tomy-  
 ris*, and General of the *Massagetes*. The Queen  
 hearing the Misfortune of her Son, and one  
 part of her Army, sent a Herald to *Cyrus* with  
 a Message in these Words ; “ O *Cyrus*, thou  
 “ insatiable Hunter of Blood, be not vain and  
 “ insolent ; if, by the Fruit of the Vine, which  
 “ none of you can bear without raving, and  
 “ which never enters into your Bodies without  
 “ bringing up all manner of unbecoming Lan-  
 “ guage ; if, I say, by this treacherous Poison,  
 “ thou hast circumvented my Son, instead of  
 “ conquering him by Valour in the Field.  
 “ How-

“ However, for the present take the best Coun-  
 “ sel I can give. Restore my Son: Depart out  
 “ of this Country, and rest satisfied with having  
 “ surpriz’d a third part of my Army by Fraud.  
 “ But if thou wilt not do these things, I swear  
 “ by the Sun, who is the Lord of the Mas-  
 “ sagetes, to give thee Blood enough; insatia-  
 “ ble as thou art.” After this Message, which  
 had no Effect upon *Cyrus*, *Spargapises* the Son  
 of *Tomyris*, being recover’d from his Wine,  
 and perceiving the Disaster that was fall’n upon  
 him, begg’d of *Cyrus* to be unbound; and hav-  
 ing obtain’d his Request, no sooner found his  
 Hands at Liberty, than he immediately kill’d  
 himself. But *Tomyris* finding her Advice flight-  
 ed by *Cyrus*, assembled all her Forces, and en-  
 gag’d the Persians in a Battle; which I think  
 to have been the most obstinate that ever was  
 fought by Barbarians. At first, as I am inform’d,  
 whilst the two Armies were at a Distance, they  
 sent Showers of Arrows upon each other; and  
 after they had quite emptied their Quivers, and  
 thrown all their Javelins; they join’d in close  
 Fight with their Swords and Spears. In this  
 manner they continued for a long time, fighting  
 with equal Fury; but at length the Massagetes  
 had the Victory, most of the Persian Army be-  
 ing cut in pieces, and *Cyrus* himself kill’d in the  
 Place, after he had reign’d twenty nine Years.  
*Tomyris* found the Body of *Cyrus*, among the  
 slain; and having cut off the Head, threw it  
 into a Vessel fill’d with human Blood, which  
 she had purposely prepared; saying, in an insult-  
 ing manner; “ Thou didst indeed treacherously  
 “ surprize and destroy my Son; but I, who  
 “ survive, and am thy Conqueror, will now  
 K 3 “ make

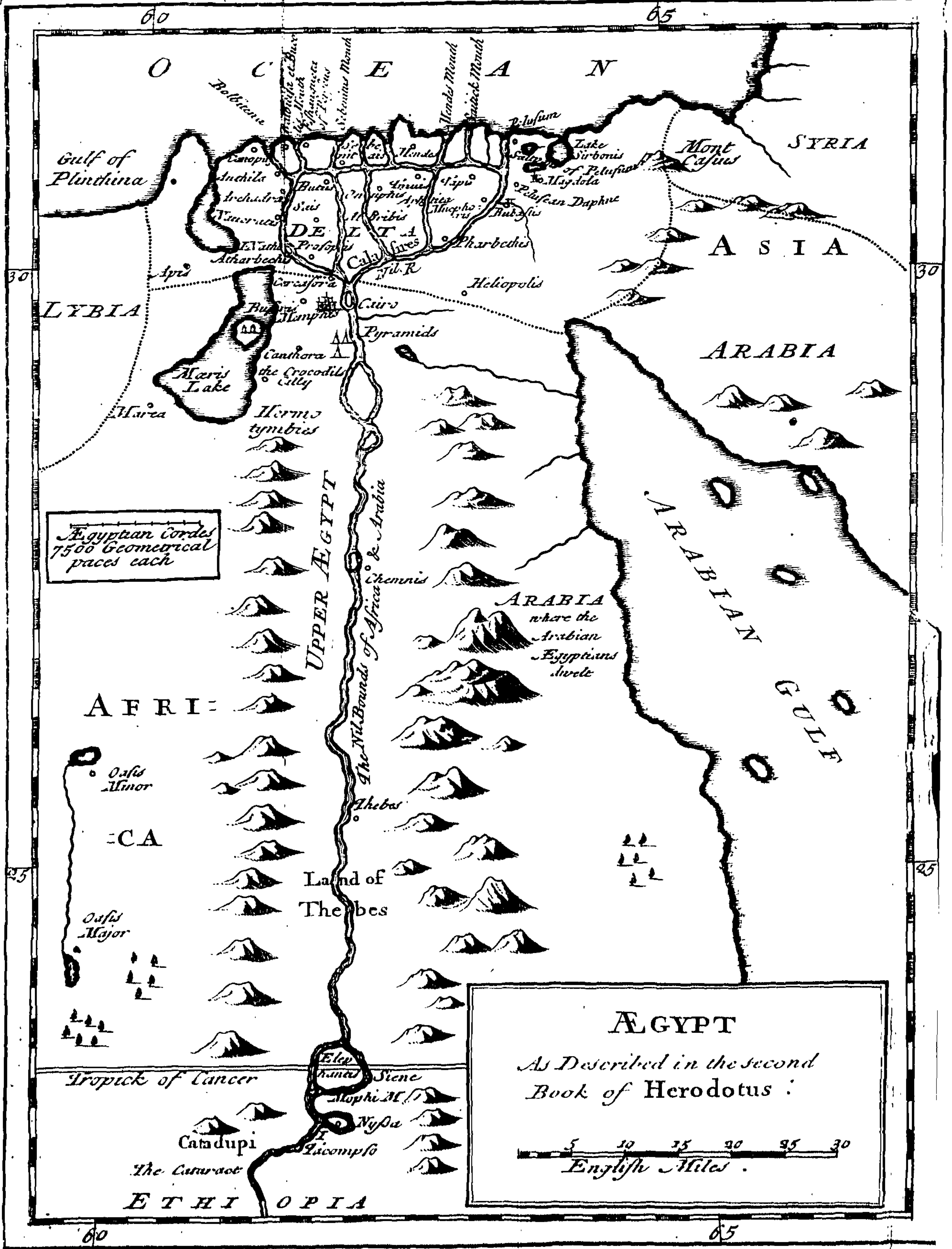
“ make good my Word, and give thee Blood  
 “ enough.” Such was the End of *Cyrus*; and  
 though many other things are said of him, I  
 have restrain’d my Relation to these, which to  
 me seem best attested.

THE Massagetes resemble the Scythians in  
 their Habit and Way of Living : They have  
 both Horse and Foot in their Armies : Their  
 Weapons of War are Arrows, Javelins, and  
 Scymeters : About their Arms they use Brass or  
 Gold ; for the Blade of their Scymeter is Brass,  
 and their Javelins and Arrows are pointed with  
 the same Metal ; but their Helmets, Belts, and  
 Body-Armour are adorn’d with Gold. They  
 arm their Horses with a Breastplate of Brass,  
 and the Bridle, with all the rest of the Furni-  
 ture, is enrich’d with Gold. They use no Sil-  
 ver nor Iron, for neither of those Metals are  
 found in their Country. As for their Manners,  
 every one marries a Wife ; but they lie with  
 those Women in common ; and the Grecians  
 mistake, when they attribute this Custom to  
 the Scythians, which is peculiar to the Mas-  
 sagetes ; among whom, whenever a Man de-  
 sires to have the Company of a Woman, he  
 hangs up his Quiver at the Head of his Chariot,  
 and uses her without Shame. The Years of  
 Life are not limited by any Law : but after a  
 Man has attain’d to old Age, all his Relations  
 meet, and sacrifice him, with Cattle of several  
 Kinds ; and when they have boil’d all the Flesh  
 together, they sit down as to a Feast. This  
 Death they account the most happy ; for they  
 never eat the Bodies of those who die by Sick-  
 ness ; but bury them in the Earth, and think it  
 a great Misfortune, that they did not attain to  
 be



be sacrific'd. Their Drink is Milk ; and they sow nothing ; contenting themselves with the Flesh of Animals, and Fish, which the River *Araxes* yields in abundance. They adore the Sun only of all the Gods, and sacrifice Horses to his Deity ; judging it most proper to offer the swiftest of all Animals to the swiftest of all the Gods.

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T H E

History of *Herodotus*.

B O O K II.

## E U T E R P E.

**A**FTER the Death of *Cyrus*, *Cambyſes* ſucceeded him in the Kingdom. He was the Son of *Cyrus*, and of *Caffandana* the Daughter of *Pharnaſpes*; who dying ſome time before, was publickly lamented by *Cyrus*, and in Obedience to his Command, by all the People of his Dominions. Born of theſe Parents, *Cambyſes* treated the Ionians and *Æolians* as his Patrimonial Servants; and having determin'd to invade *Ægypt*, conſtrain'd the Grecians that were ſubject to him, to join his other Forces, and to attend him in his Expedition.

THE *Ægyptians* who liv'd before the Reign of *Pſammetichus*, thought themſelves the moſt antient People of all the World. But ſince the Experiment he made, to find out the Truth of that matter, they have yielded the Priority to the Phrygians, ſtill eſteeming themſelves the ſecond in Antiquity. For after *Pſammetichus* had long endeavour'd in vain to diſcover who were the firſt Men, he at laſt contriv'd this Expedient.

He



He took two Male Children newly born of poor Parents, and putting them into the Hands of a Shepherd to be brought up among his Flocks, commanded him not to permit any one to speak in their hearing ; but to lay them in a solitary Cottage ; to bring them Goats to suck at certain times, and when he should perceive they were fatiated with Milk, to nourish them with other Food. These Orders *Psammetichus* gave, that he might be inform'd, what Word would first break from the Children, when they should begin to articulate ; and the Success was answerable to his Expectation. For at the end of two Years, as the Shepherd to whose Care they were committed, was one Day entring the Cottage, and had already open'd the Door, both the Children ran to him, and holding out their Hands, cried *Bekkos*. The Shepherd at first said nothing ; but after he had often observ'd that this Word was ever repeated at his coming in, he acquainted the King with what had happen'd, and by his Command brought the Children into his Presence. *Psammetichus* having heard the same, inquir'd in the next place, if any Nation made use of the Word *Bekkos* ; and when he found by Inquiry, that the Phrygians call Bread by that Name, the Ægyptians consented to take this for a Proof, that the Phrygians were the more antient People. This Relation I had at *Memphis* from the Priests of *Vulcan*. But the Grecians, among many other ridiculous things, report, that *Psammetichus* deliver'd these Children to be brought up by certain Women, whose Tongues he caus'd to be cut out. Divers other things I heard at *Memphis*,

*phis* in several Conferences I had with the Priests of *Vulcan*. I went also to *Thebes*, and to *Heliopolis*, in order to see whether their Accounts might agree with what I had heard at *Memphis*; for the Heliopolitans are esteem'd the wisest of all the *Ægyptians*. Their Discourses touching the Gods, I am not very willing to publish, except only their Names; supposing that all Men think alike concerning them: And therefore I shall say no more of those matters than the Thread of my Narration absolutely requires. But as for human Sciences, they all agree, that the *Ægyptians* were the first Inventers of the Year, which they divided into twelve Parts, by means of the Knowledge they had of the Stars: In this, as I think, more able than the Grecians, who to make up the Time, throw in an intercalatory Month every third Year: Whereas the *Ægyptians* allowing thirty Days to each of the twelve Months, and adding five Days to each Year, render the Revolution of Time equal and regular. They said also, that the *Ægyptians* were the first who gave Names to the twelve Gods; and that the Grecians had those Names from them; that they erected the first Altars, Images, and Temples to the Gods, and carv'd the Figures of Animals on Stone; most of which they demonstrated to be so in fact. They added, that *Menes* was the first King, who reign'd in the World; and that in his Time all *Ægypt*, except the Country of *Thebes*, was one Morass; no part of the present Land appearing then below the Lake *Myris*, which is seven Days Passage from the Sea by the way of the River. Indeed, to me they seem'd

to

to speak rationally touching this Region. For any Man of Understanding will easily perceive at sight, tho' he had never heard these things, that those Parts of *Ægypt* which the Grecians frequent with their Shipping, are an Accession of Land bestow'd upon the *Ægyptians* by the River: And so is all that Country, which Men see beyond the Lake during a Passage of three Days; of which yet these *Ægyptians* said nothing. Besides, when a Ship bound to *Ægypt* rides at a Distance of a whole Day's Sail from the Port, if a Man try the Sounding, he shall draw up his Plummet cover'd with Mud, even where the Sea is eleven Fathom deep; which plainly shews, that all that Earth was brought down thither by the River. The *Ægyptian* Coast extending, as we reckon, from the Bay of *Plinthene* to the Lake *Selbonis* under Mount *Casius*, is sixty Schoenes in Length. And here we must observe, that those Nations who have only small Territories, measure their Land by the Rod; such as have more, by the Stade; and those who have very much, by the Parafanges, each consisting of thirty Stades. But in Countries of vast Extent, they account by the Schoene, which is an *Ægyptian* Measure equal to sixty Stades. So that the whole Coast of *Ægypt* is three thousand and six hundred Stades in Length. From the Sea upwards to the City of *Heliopolis*, the Country is a spacious Level, without Rivers, yet moist and glutinous. The Distance from the Sea to *Heliopolis*, is about the same, as from the Altar of the twelve Gods in *Attica* to *Pisa* and the Temple of Olympian *Jupiter*. For whoever will compare



pare these Ways, shall find by Computation that they differ not one from the other above fifteen Stades ; the Road leading to *Pisa* wanting no more of one thousand five hundred Stades, which is just the Number that lie between the Sea and *Heliopolis*. From this City upwards, *Ægypt* is narrow, and shut up on one side by the Mountains of *Arabia*, which form a continued Line, extending from the North to the South and South-West, till they reach the *Red Sea*. In these Hills are found Quarries of Stone, which were us'd in building the Pyramids of *Memphis*. But I have heard, that to travel this Country over in the widest Part from East to West, is a Journey of two Months ; and that the most Eastwardly Limits produce Frankincense in abundance. On that side of *Ægypt* which borders upon *Libya*, are other Mountains, very rocky and cover'd with Sand. They contain divers Pyramids, and stand over against those of *Arabia* which stretch to the Southward. So that the Country is narrow beyond *Heliopolis*, as far as one can pass in four Days Voyage up the River ; which is not much, if we consider the Extent of *Ægypt*. Between the Mountains before mention'd the Land is level, and, in the narrowest Part, seems to me not above two hundred Stades in Breadth, from the Arabian to the Lybian Hills : But beyond these Streights the Country grows wider again. Such is the Form and Situation of this Region. From *Heliopolis* to *Thebes* Men pass by Water in nine Days, the Distance between those two Cities being four thousand eight hundred and sixty Stades, which amount to eighty one Schoenes. In Conclusion ; the Coast  
of

of *Ægypt*, as I said before, contains in Length three thousand and six hundred Stades: *Thebes* is distant from the Sea six thousand one hundred and twenty; and the City of *Elephantis* eight hundred and twenty from *Thebes*. The greater Part of all this Country, as the Priests inform'd me, and as I judge by what I saw, is an Accession of Land to the *Ægyptians*. For the Plains that lye between the Mountains beyond *Memphis*, seem to me to have been formerly a Bay of the Sea: And I have the same Opinion of those about *Ilium*, *Teuthrania*, *Ephesus*, and the *Mæander*; if I may be permitted to compare small things with great: For none of all the Rivers that have thrown out Earth in this manner on those Regions, can justly be brought in Competition with any one of the seven Channels of the *Nile*. I might mention other Rivers which have wrought the like Effect; and, tho' not so considerable as the *Nile*, have yet done great things of this Nature. Of these, one of the most remarkable is the *Achelois*; which passing thro' *Acarmania*, and falling into the Sea by the *Echinades*, has already join'd one half of those Islands to the Continent. Besides, there is a Bay, not far from *Ægypt*, branching out from the *Red Sea*, tho' belonging to *Arabia*, which is long and narrow, in the manner I shall here describe: From the innermost Part of this Bay to the broad Sea, the Passage is of as great a Length as a Vessel with Oars can perform in forty Days; and yet the Breadth in the widest Place is no more than half a Day over. The Tides of this Gulph are strong; the Waters ebb and flow daily; and I am of Opinion that *Ægypt* was antiently penetrated

penetrated in like manner by an Arm of the Sea, entring on the North side, and ascending towards *Æthiopia* ; as that of *Arabia*, which I mention'd before, stretches from the South towards *Syria* ; and that the Extremities of these two had only a narrow Tract of Land lying between, and separating the one from the other. Now, if the *Nile* would turn its Stream into the Arabian *Sinus*, what could hinder that River from filling the Channel with Earth in twenty thousand Years. For, as I am persuaded that the other has suffer'd the like Change within the Space of ten thousand Years before my Time ; I presume that this, or even a much greater Channel may be fill'd up in that Time by such a vigorous and abounding River. The things therefore which I heard concerning *Ægypt*, together with the Testimony of my own Eyes, induce me to this Opinion ; especially having observ'd, that this Country lies lower than the next adjoining Region ; that Shells are found on the Hills ; that a brackish Humour issuing from the Earth corrodes the Stones of the Pyramids ; and that among all the Mountains of *Ægypt*, this alone which is situate above *Memphis*, abounds in Sand. Besides, *Ægypt* is utterly unlike all the adjacent Countries, whether of *Arabia*, *Libya*, or *Syria* ; ( for the maritim Parts of *Arabia* are inhabited by *Syrians* ; ) the Soil being black, loose, and apparently such as the *Nile* brings down from *Æthiopia* : Whereas we know that the Earth of *Libya* is reddish, and mix'd with Sand ; as that of *Arabia* and *Syria* is either Stony, or mix'd with Clay. Another Particular, of great Moment to confirm what is said touching this Country,



try, I had from the Priests ; who affirm, that under the Reign of *Myris*, if the *Nile* rose to the height of eight Cubits, all the Lands of *Ægypt* were sufficiently water'd : And yet *Myris* had not been nine hundred Years dead, when I receiv'd this Information. But in our time, unless the River swells to sixteen Cubits, or fifteen at least, the Country is not cover'd with Water. So that if the Soil continues to increase in the same Proportion as in Ages past, I am persuaded, that those who inhabit below the Lake of *Myris*, and in all that Part which is call'd *Delta*, must for ever suffer by a Deficiency of Water : The same Calamity, they us'd to say, must at some time fall upon the Grecians. For having heard that all the Lands of *Greece* were water'd by Rain, and not, as *Ægypt*, by Rivers ; they said the Grecians, at some time or other, would be disappointed of their Hopes, and starve : Meaning, if *Jupiter* should not afford Rain, but send dry Seasons in the place of wet, they must perish by Famine, having no other Water than that which the Heavens are pleas'd to bestow. I acknowledge this Discourse is not altogether groundless ; yet in return, I desire to know of the *Ægyptians*, what Expedient they could invent to preserve themselves from starving, if, as I said before, all the Land below *Memphis*, which visibly rises every Year, should continue hereafter to increase in the same Proportion ; when the Country shall neither be water'd by Rain from Heaven, nor the River be sufficient to ascend above the Soil. At this Day indeed, no People in the World, nor in the rest of *Ægypt*, enjoy the Productions of the Earth with so little Labour. They  
are



many continued in their former Possessions. For the Province of *Thebes* went antiently by the Name of *Ægypt*, and comprchends six thousand one hundred and twenty Stades in Circumference. If therefore we judge rightly of these things, the Opinion of the Ionians is erroneous ; but if their Sentiment be well grounded, we shall shew, that neither the Grecians nor the Ionians reason well, when they say the World is divided into three Parts ; *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Libya* ; because they plainly add a fourth, if the *Ægyptian Delta* be not a Part either of *Libya* or of *Asia*. For, by their reasoning, the *Nile* does not separate *Asia* from *Libya* ; that River dividing at the Point of *Delta*, and rowling down on each side of a Region, which being thus encompass'd, can belong neither to *Libya* nor to *Asia*. But not to insist longer on the Opinion of the Ionians, I presume, that all the Countries which the *Ægyptians* inhabit, ought to be accounted *Ægypt*, as those of the *Cilicians* and *Assyrians* are known by the Names of *Cilicia* and *Assyria*. Neither can I imagine what Parts may be properly call'd the Bounds of *Asia* and *Libya*, except the Limits of *Ægypt*. Yet if we follow the Opinion which the Grecians embrace, we must say, that all *Ægypt* below the *Catadupians* and the City of *Elephantis*, is divided into two Parts under two distinct Names, one belonging to *Libya*, and the other to *Asia*. For the *Nile* descending from the *Catadupians*, passes thro' the midst of *Ægypt* in one Channel towards the Sea, to the City of *Cercafora*, and there separates into three. That which runs out to the Eastward is call'd the *Pelusian Mouth* : The second inclining Westward, goes by the Name



Name of *Canopean*: And the third Channel descending from above by a strait Line, passes thro' the midst of *Delta*, and being no way inferior to the other two in Fame, or Quantity of Water, is call'd the Mouth of *Sebennytus*; whence two more are deriv'd, which take their Names from the Cities of *Sais* and *Mendes*, and flow into the Sea. For those of *Bolbitis* and *Bucolis* were not form'd by Nature, but are owing to the Industry of Men. To this Opinion concerning the Extent of *Ægypt*, I have the concurring Testimony of the Oracle of *Ammon*; which yet I had not heard before I was fully persuaded of these things. For the People who inhabit the Cities of *Apis* and *Marea*, situate on the Frontier of *Ægypt*, next to the Borders of *Libya*, impatient of the *Ægyptian* Superstition, and unwilling to abstain from the Flesh of Heifers, were very desirous to be accounted Libyans rather than *Ægyptians*; and to that End consulting the Oracle of *Ammon*, profess'd they had no Relation to the *Ægyptians*, because they liv'd out of *Delta*, and could by no means agree with them, but desir'd to eat all manner of Food without Distinction. Nevertheless, the God rejecting their Request, pronounc'd, That *Ægypt* comprehends all the Territories which are overflow'd by the *Nile*; and that all those who drink of that River below the City of *Elephantis*, are *Ægyptians*.

THE Inundations of the *Nile* not only cover *Delta*, but the Frontier of *Libya* also, and sometimes that of *Arabia*, to the Extent of about two Days Journey more or less on each side. And tho' I was very desirous to be inform'd touching the Nature of this River, I could not

learn either from the Priests, or any other Persons, what should cause the *Nile* to overflow during a hundred Days after the Summer Solstice, and then going off again in about the same space of Time, to continue low all the Winter, and even to the return of the next Summer Solstice. Of these Particulars I could get no Account from the *Ægyptians*; tho' I inquir'd, whether this River have any peculiar Quality, or be different in Nature from other Rivers: And my great Desire to be inform'd, not only lead me to ask these Questions; but also how it comes to pass that the *Nile* alone, of all the Rivers in the World, never emits the least Wind on the adjacent Parts. Nevertheless, some of the Grecians pretending to distinguish themselves by their Knowledge, have nam'd three several Causes of these Inundations; two of which I think deserve so little Regard, that I shall only mention them, because I would omit nothing concerning this Subject. They say first, that the Etesian Winds are the Cause of the swelling of this River, by repelling the Stream, and preventing it from discharging into the Sea. But the *Nile* has sometimes perform'd its Work, before the Etesian Winds begin to blow: And besides, if those Winds were the Cause of these Inundations, all other Rivers that are expos'd to the same Winds, must of necessity be liable to the same Effect; and the rather, by being weaker and less rapid: Yet the Rivers of *Syria* and *Libya*, which are many, were never subject to the like Influence. The second Opinion is more groundless than the former, tho' more wonderful; affirming, that the *Nile*, flowing from the Ocean, performs these things; and that the Ocean,

Ocean furrounds the whole Earth. The third Way of resolving this Difficulty is the most probable, and yet most untrue. For by saying that the Waters of the *Nile* are produc'd by melted Snow, they say nothing ; because this River descends from *Libya* thro' the midst of *Æthiopia* into *Ægypt* ; that is to say, from a very hot to a very cold Region, and therefore cannot owe its Being to Snow. Many Reasons will readily occur to Men of good Understanding, to shew the Improbability of this Opinion. First and principally, because the Winds which blow from *Æthiopia* are always hot. In the second place, neither Rain nor Ice is seen in those Countries ; and yet Rain always follows within the space of five Days after Snow : So that if Snow falls in those Regions, Rain must. Besides, the Inhabitants are render'd black by the excessive Heat ; Swallows and Kites continue there all the Year ; and the Cranes, to avoid the Cold of *Scythia*, come to pass the Winter in that Country : All which could not be, if any Snow should fall in the Parts adjacent to the Source and Passage of the *Nile*. As for those who attribute these Inundations to the Ocean, they involve their Assertion in mysterious Fables, and give no solid Proof : Neither do I know any River so call'd ; but conjecture that *Homer*, or some other antient Poet finding that Name, inserted it in their Writings. Yet if after I have express'd my Dissatisfaction with the Opinions before mention'd, I must give my own concerning so intricate a Question, That which causes the *Nile* to overflow in Summer, is, in my Judgment, this. During the Winter, the Sun relinquishing his former Course,



retires to the upper Regions of *Libya* ; which in few Words comprehends the whole matter ; for this God diminishes the Rivers, and sinks the Streams of those Countries that lie nearest to his Passage. But to explain my meaning more amply, I say, that the Sun passing over the remoter Parts of *Libya*, which are always clear, hot, and liable to fresh Winds, acts then in the same manner there, as in other Places in the midst of Summer ; attracting the Moisture, and throwing it back again upon the higher Regions ; where it is receiv'd and liquefied by the Winds, which in this Climate blow generally from the South and South-West, and consequently most attended with Wet of any other. Yet I am of Opinion, that the Sun may retain some Part of the Water, and not discharge all every Year into the *Nile*. But when the Rigours of Winter are past, and the Sun returns again to the midst of the Heavens, all Rivers are attracted by the Heat in equal Proportion. To which time all other Streams, by the falling of frequent Rains, run high, and overflow the adjacent Parts ; whereas in Summer being destitute of Rain, and at the same time exhal'd by the Sun, they sink to a contemptible Lowness : But the *Nile*, tho' destitute of Rain, and attracted by the Sun, is the only River that runs higher in Summer than in Winter. Yet this River is as liable to Exhalation by the Sun as any other during the Summer, and in Winter is singly subject to that Effect. From all which, as I conceive, the Sun is the Cause of the Inundations of the *Nile*. And in my Opinion, the Dryness of the Air in those Parts proceeds from the scorching Heat of the same Being,

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ing, which affects in an extraordinary manner all that lies near its Passage: And for this Occasion the upper Regions of *Libya* are always hot. Now if such a Change of Seasons and Climate could be made, that the South Winds might take the Place of the North, and the North Winds be transferr'd to the Southward, the Sun retiring from the North in Winter to the upper Regions of *Europe*, and passing thro' those Parts, as now he does thro' *Libya*, would doubtless cause the same Effects in the *Ister*, which we now see in the *Nile*. And whereas I said before, that no Wind blows from this River; my Opinion is, that Winds are the natural Production of cold Climates, and that the hottest seldom produce any. But I leave these things as they are, and as they always were.

TOUCHING the Source of the *Nile*, no Man of all the *Ægyptians*, *Libyans*, or *Grecians* I have convers'd with, ever pretended to know any thing certain; except a Scribe who had the Charge of *Minerva's* Treasury at *Sais*, a City of *Ægypt*. And tho' I thought he trifled with me, when he said he was perfectly inform'd of this Secret, I shall yet give a Place here to his Relation. *Croph*i, said he, and *Mophi*, are two Mountains with Heads of a Pyramidical Form, situate in the Way from *Elephantis* to *Syene*, a City of *Thebais*; and between these Hills is a profound Abyss, which contains the Springs of the *Nile*. One half of the Water issuing from this Place runs into *Ægypt* Northward; the other half passes Southward to *Æthiopia*: And that the Source of the *Nile* is an Abyss, *Psammeticus* King of *Ægypt* found by an Experiment. For having caus'd a Line

of twisted Cord to be made many thousand Fathom in Length, he sounded the Depth, but could not find a Bottom. Which, if admitted for true, would induce me to believe, that Cataracts of Water continually falling down from the two Hills, make such violent Tides and Whirlepoools below, as to hinder a Line from fathoming the Place: And more than this I never could hear from any Man.

I travell'd to *Elephantis*, and saw all Parts of the Country with my own Eyes; but of those which are situate beyond that City, I speak upon the Credit of others, and the most exact Information I could get. Those who ascend the River above the City of *Elephantis*, find a Country in their Passage so steep, that every Vessel, like a Cow tied by the Horns, is drawn by Ropes fasten'd to each side, and must be hurried down the Stream by the Impetuosity of the Torrent, if the Ropes should happen to break. This Region is four Days Voyage from *Elephantis*, and the *Nile* is there as crooked and full of Windings as the *Mæander*. These Difficulties continue till the Vessel has made twelve full Schoenes: After which the Navigation is level; and an Island call'd *Tachompso* appears in the midst of the *Nile*. The *Æthiopians* inhabit the Country beyond *Elephantis*, and one half of the Island *Tachompso*, the other half being in the Possession of the *Ægyptians*. Contiguous to this Island lies a vast Lake, the Borders of which are inhabited by *Æthiopian* Herdsmen; and from that Lake the Vessel enters again into the Channel of the *Nile*. A little beyond this Place Men are oblig'd to go ashore, and to travel forty Days by the side of the River; because



because the Frequency of Rocks and Shelves renders the Navigation of those Parts utterly impracticable. At the End of these forty Days, they go on board another Vessel, and arrive in about twelve more at the great City of *Meroe*, which is accounted the Capital of all *Æthiopia*. The Inhabitants of that Place worship no other Gods than *Jupiter* and *Bacchus*; but these they adore with extraordinary Pomp. They have an Oracle of *Jupiter*; and make War, when that God commands, against any Nation whatever. The Distance between *Meroe* and the *Auto-moles*, is the same as between *Elephantis* and *Meroe*. This People is call'd by the Name of *Asmak*, which in the Language of *Greece* signifies, *Those that stand at the left Hand of the King*. Their Ancestors were *Ægyptians*; and being in Number two hundred and forty thousand military Men, revolted to the *Æthiopians* on the following Occasion. Some of them were plac'd in Garrison at *Elephantis*, and in the *Pelusian Daphne*, to secure those Parts against the *Æthiopians*: Others were posted on the Frontiers of *Arabia* and *Assyria*, and some in *Marea* on the Confines of *Libya*: Which Method of *Psammetichus* we have seen imitated by the *Persians* of our time, who maintain Guards both in *Elephantis*, and *Daphne*. These *Ægyptians*, after they had continu'd three Years in their respective Posts, without hearing any thing of being reliev'd, consulted together; and unanimously resolving to abandon *Psammetichus*, march'd away to *Æthiopia*. When the King heard what was doing, he follow'd, overtook, and adjur'd them not to forsake the Gods of their Fathers, with their own Wives and Children.

dren. But in Answer to his Exhortation, one of the *Ægyptians* is reported to have uncover'd his private Parts, and to have said, That where-soever these were, there could not be wanting either Wives or Children. So continuing their March, they presented themselves to the King of *Æthiopia*; who in Recompence sent them into a Country which was disaffected to him, with Orders to expel the Inhabitants, and to possess their Lands: By the Settlement of which Colony the *Æthiopians* became more civiliz'd, and learnt the Manners of the *Ægyptians*. Thus four whole Months are requir'd to view the Course of the *Nile*, partly by Land, and partly by Water, without including its Passage through *Ægypt*. For upon Computation, so much time will be found necessary to those who travel from *Elephantis* to the Automoles. This River descends from the West and the Setting of the Sun; but to trace its Original, is a vain Attempt, because the excessive Heat renders the rest of the Country desert and uninhabited.

I was also inform'd by some Cyrenæans, that in a Journey they took to the Oracle of *Ammon*, they had conferr'd with *Etearchus* King of the Ammonians; and that, among other things, discoursing with him concerning the Head of the *Nile*, as of a thing altogether unknown, *Etearchus* acquainted them, that certain Nasamonians, a Nation of *Libya* inhabiting the Borders of the *Syrtis* to the Eastward, coming into his Country, and being ask'd by him if they had learnt any thing new touching the Libyan Deserts, answer'd, That some petulant young Men, Sons to divers Persons of great Power among

among them, had, after many extravagant Actions, resolv'd to send five of their Number to the Deserts of *Libya*, to see if they could make any farther Discovery than others had done. For the Northern Coast of *Libya*, from *Ægypt* to the Promontory of *Solois*, where *Libya* terminates, is inhabited by Libyans of various Nations ; except those Parts alone, which are possess'd by the Grecians and Phœnicians. Above this Coast, and the maritim Places, which are well peopled, the next Country is abandon'd to Beasts of Prey ; and all beyond that is destitute of Water, cover'd with Sands, and utterly desolate. The young Men chosen by their Companions to make this Expedition, having furnish'd themselves with Water and other necessary Provisions, first pass'd thro' the inhabited Country ; and when they had likewise travers'd that Region which abounds in Wild Beasts, they enter'd the Deserts, making their Way towards the South-West. After they had travell'd many Days thro' the Sands, they at length saw some Trees growing in a Plain, and while they were eating of the Fruit they found on the Branches, divers little Men, less than those we account of a middle Stature, came up to them, speaking a Language which the Nasamonians understood not ; neither did they understand the Speech of the Nasamonians. However, they conducted them over vast Morasses to a City built on a great River running from the West to the East, and abounding in Crocodiles ; where the Nasamonians found all the Inhabitants black, and of no larger Size than their Guides. To this Relation *Etearchus* added, as the Cyrenæans assur'd me, that the Nasamonians return'd  
safe



safe to their own Country, and that the little Men were all Enchanters ; but for the River, which passes by their City, he thought it to be the *Nile* ; and his Opinion is not unreasonable ; because the *Nile* descends from *Libya*, dividing the Country in the midst ; and, as I form my Conjectures of things unknown on things known, may probably run thro' as large a Tract of Land as the *Ister*. For the *Ister* beginning to appear at the City of *Pyrenne* among the Celtes, who inhabit beyond the Columns of *Hercules*, and border on the Territories of the Cynesians, which lie in the Extremity of *Europe* to the Westward, passes thro' all this Part of the World, and ends at the *Euxin' Sea*, in the Country of the Istrians, who are a Milesian Colony. Now, the *Ister* is generally known, because the adjacent Parts are every where well peopled ; but the Springs of the *Nile* are undiscover'd, because this River passes thro' the uninhabited Deserts of *Libya*. I shall therefore say no more concerning the Course of the *Nile*, having already mention'd as much as I could learn by the most diligent Inquiry ; only that it flows into the Sea by the way of *Ægypt*, which lies opposite to the Mountains of *Cilicia*, from whence a strong Man may travel in five Days to *Sinope*, a Place situate on the *Euxin*, and directly facing the Mouth of the *Ister*. So that in my Opinion the *Nile*, which traverses all *Libya*, may be properly compar'd with the *Ister*. And thus I have finish'd my Account of the *Nile*.

I shall now proceed in my Discourse concerning *Ægypt* which will be very ample and particular, because that Country far surpasses all others in things admirable, and beyond Expressi-  
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on remarkable. For as the Climate and River of *Ægypt* differ in Nature from those of any other Region ; so the *Ægyptians* have fram'd their Laws and Manners very different from the rest of Mankind. The Women of *Ægypt* are employ'd in Trade and Business, while the Men stay at home to spin and weave. Other Nations weave the rough side of the Piece uppermost, the *Ægyptians* underneath. The Men bend the Body when they make Water, but the Women perform that Action standing. The *Ægyptians* discharge their Excrements at home, and eat in publick ; alledging, that whatever is indecent, though necessary, ought to be done in private, but things no way unbecoming should be done openly. No Woman may be a Priestess of any God or Goddess: Men only are employ'd in those Offices. Sons are not constrain'd to make Provision for their Parents, if they are not willing ; but Daughters, however unwilling, are compell'd to this Duty. In other Countries the Priests of the Gods wear Hair ; in *Ægypt* they are all shav'd. Among other People, the general Custom in time of Mourning is, that those who are most nearly concern'd shave their Heads ; but when any one dies in *Ægypt*, his Relations cease to shave, and let the Hair grow on their Heads and Faces. In other Regions, the Apartments of Men are separated from Beasts ; whereas in *Ægypt* Man and Beast live together. Other Nations use Barley and Wheat for Food ; which would be a Reproach among the *Ægyptians*, who make Bread of a fine Flower call'd by some Olyra, and by others Zea. They work this into Paste with their Feet ; but temper Mortar with  
their

their Hands. The Ægyptians are circumcis'd in their secret Parts; which all other Men leave as they are form'd by Nature; those only excepted, who have learnt this Custom from them. The Men wear two Garments, the Women but one. They fasten the Ropes and Hooks to the inside of the Sails, and all other Nations to the outside. When the Grecians write or calculate with Counters, they carry the Hand from the Left to the Right; but the Ægyptians, on the contrary, from the Right to the Left: And yet pretend in doing so, that their Line tends to the Right, and ours to the Left. They have two sorts of Letters; one of which they call sacred, and the other vulgar. They are of all Mankind the most excessive Worshipers of the Gods, and use these Ceremonies. They drink in Cups of Brass, which they scour every Day; and this Custom is not only practis'd by some particular Men, but by all the Ægyptians in general. They wear Garments of Linen fresh wash'd, taking singular Care to have them always clean, and are circumcis'd principally for the sake of Cleanliness, which they esteem more than Ornament. The Priests shave all Parts of the Body once in three Days; lest Lice or any other Impurity should be found about those who officiate in the Service of the Gods. They are cloath'd in Linen, wear Shoes of Linen, and are not permitted to dress in any other manner. They constantly bathe themselves twice in cold Water by Day, and twice by Night; using so many other Superstitions, that we may say their Number is infinite. On the other Hand they enjoy great Advantages: For they are never disturb'd with domestick Cares  
and



and Expences: They eat the consecrated Bread, and are daily furnish'd with Beef and Geese in abundance. They have an Allowance of Wine; but may not taste of Fish. Beans are never sow'd in any Part of *Ægypt*; and if some happen to grow there, the *Ægyptians* will not eat them either crude or dress'd. As for the Priests, they abhor the Sight of that Pulse, accounting it impure and abominable. The Service of every God is perform'd, not by one, but by many Priests, the principal being call'd the Arch-Priest; and when he dies, his Son is substituted in his Place. They sacrifice Bulls to *Apis*; and for that Reason make the following Trial. If they find one black Hair upon him, they adjudge him to be unclean; which that they may know with Certainty, the Priest appointed to this purpose views every Part of the Animal, both standing and laid down on the Ground. After this he draws out his Tongue, to see if he be clean by certain Signs, which I shall mention in another Discourse. In the last place he looks upon the Hairs of his Tail, that he may be sure they are as by Nature they ought to be. If after this Search the Beast is found unblemish'd, he ties a Label about his Horns; and having seal'd it with the Signet of his Ring, orders him to be led away and secur'd; because 'tis Death to sacrifice one of these Animals, unless he has been mark'd with such a Seal. And thus having related the Form of this Examination, I proceed to the Manner of their Sacrifices. After they have brought the Victim to the Altar, they immediately kindle a Fire, and pouring Wine upon him, offer their Prayers to the God. This done, they  
kill

kill the Beast, flay the Body, and cut off the Head, which they carry with many Imprecations to the publick Place, if they have any, and sell it to some Grecian Merchant ; but if no such is to be found, they throw it into the River, using this Form of Execration ; “ May  
 “ all the Evils impending over those that now  
 “ sacrifice, or over the *Ægyptians* in general,  
 “ be averted on this Head.” These Ceremonies of the Libation of Wine, and the Manner of devoting the Head of the Sacrifice, are practis’d in all the Temples of *Ægypt* ; and for this Reason no *Ægyptian* will eat of the Head of any Animal. But in the Choice of their Victims, and Burnt-Offerings, they have different Customs in several Places.

THE Goddess they principally worship is call’d *Isis*, and they celebrate her Festival with all imaginable Solemnity. On the preceding Day they fast, and after they have pray’d, they sacrifice a Bullock ; taking out the Bowels, and leaving the Fat with the Vitals in the Carcass. This done, they cut off the Legs and End of the Loyn, together with the Shoulders and Neck ; and having fill’d the Body with fine Bread, Honey, dried Raisins, Figs, Incense, Myrrh, and other Perfumes, they perform the Rites of Consecration, and pour in a great Quantity of Oyl. They sacrifice fasting ; beating themselves during all the Time the Flesh lies on the Fire ; and when they have so done, they feast upon the rest of the Offering. All the Cattle of this Kind, whether full grown or Calves, us’d by the *Ægyptians* in their Sacrifices, are unblemish’d Males ; but the Females being sacred to *Isis*, are forbidden to be  
 I offer’d.

offer'd. For the Image of *Isis* is always made in the Form of a Woman with the Horns of a Cow on her Head; as the Grecians represent *Io*: And for this Reason all the Ægyptians pay a greater Reverence to that Animal than to any other. So that no Man or Woman among them will ever be persuaded to kiss a Grecian on the Mouth; or to use the same Knife, Pot, or Spit; nor to eat the Flesh even of unblemish'd Cattel, which has been cut up with the Knife of a Grecian. When any Beast of this sort happens to die, they dispose of the Body in the following Manner: They throw the Females into the River, and intert the Males in the Parts adjoining to the City, with one Horn, and sometimes both appearing above the Ground, for a Mark of the Grave. When the Flesh is consum'd; so as all the Bones may be transported, a Vessel appointed to that End arrives at a certain time from *Prosopites*, an Island of *Delta*, which comprehends nine Schoenes of Land in Circumference and several Cities. The Vessel is sent by one of these, call'd *Atar-bechis*, where a Temple stands dedicated to *Venus*, and from whence many others are dispatch'd to different Parts. After they have thus collected all the Bones, they bury them together in any one Place; and the same Rites are observ'd with relation to other Cattle. For the Ægyptians are forbidden by their Laws to kill any.

THOSE who worship in the Temple of *Jupiter* at *Thebes*, or belong to that Country, abstain from Sheep, and sacrifice Goats only. For the Ægyptians are not unanimous in their Manner of honouring the Gods, if we except



*Isis* and *Osiris*, who, they say, is no other than *Bacchus* : But in the Worship of these Deities they all agree. On the other hand, those who frequent the Temple of *Mendes*, with all the Inhabitants of that Territory, abstain from sacrificing Goats, and offer Sheep only. Now the Thebans and all those who abstain from Sheep after their Example, pretend that this Custom was establish'd among them by the means of *Hercules* ; who being very desirous to see *Jupiter*, did not without great Difficulty obtain his Request ; for the God was unwilling to be seen ; till at last *Jupiter* yielding to his Importunity, contriv'd this Artifice. Having separated the Head from the Body of a Ram, and flayed the whole Carcass, he put on the Skin with the Wool, and in that Form shew'd himself to *Hercules*. For this cause the Ægyptians represent *Jupiter* by an Image wearing the Head of a Ram : In which they have been imitated by the Ammonians, who are a Colony of Ægyptians and Æthiopians, speaking a Language compos'd of Words taken from both those Nations ; and, as I conjecture, have given themselves the Name of Ammonians, because *Jupiter* is by the Ægyptians call'd *Ammon*. For the same Reason the Ram is accounted a sacred Animal, and never kill'd by the Thebans, except once in every Year on the Festival of *Jupiter* ; when, after they have flay'd the Body, and put the Skin upon the Image of the God, they bring a Statue of *Hercules* into his Presence : Which done, all the Assistants give a Blow to the Ram, and afterwards bury him in a consecrated Coffin. I have been inform'd, that this Ægyptian *Hercules* is one of the twelve Gods ; but of the other, who is known to the Grecians, I could

I could never hear the least mention in any part of *Ægypt*. And I have many good Reasons to believe, that the *Ægyptians* did not borrow this Name from the *Grecians*; but rather the *Grecians*, and especially those who gave it to the Son of *Amphitryon*, from the *Ægyptians*: Principally, because *Amphitryon* and *Alcmena*, Father and Mother to the *Grecian Hercules*, were both of *Ægyptian* Descent. Besides; the *Ægyptians* affirm, they know not the Names of *Neptune*, *Castor*, and *Pollux*, nor ever receiv'd them into the Number of their Gods: Yet if they had borrow'd the Name of any Deity from the *Grecians*, they would certainly have mention'd these in the first Rank, had any of the *Grecians* then frequented the Sea, and been acquainted with the Use of Shipping, as I believe they were. And therefore the *Ægyptians* must have known the Names of these Gods, rather than that of *Hercules*. But however this be, *Hercules* is one of the antient Gods of the *Ægyptians*; who say, that seventeen thousand Years before the Reign of *Amasis*, the number of their Gods, which had been eight, was increas'd to twelve, and that *Hercules* was accounted one of these. Concerning which things, being desirous to know with Certainty as much as might be discover'd, I sail'd to *Tyre* in *Phœnicia*, because I had heard there was a Temple dedicated to *Hercules*. That Temple I saw, enrich'd with many magnificent Donations, and among others with two Pillars, one of fine Gold, the other made of a Smaragdus, which shines by Night in a surprising Manner. Conversing with the Priests of this God, and inquiring how long this Temple had been built, I found these also to differ from

the Grecians. For they assur'd me that the Temple was built at the same Time with the City, and that two thousand three hundred Years were already past since the Foundation of *Tyre*. In this City I saw another Temple dedicated to *Hercules* by the Name of *Thasian*; and when I arriv'd in *Thasus*, I found there also a Temple of the same God, built by those Phœnicians, who founded that City during the Expedition they made in Search of *Europa*; which was five Generations before *Hercules* the Son of *Amphitryon* appear'd in *Greece*. All these things evidently prove, that the *Ægyptian Hercules* is a God of great Antiquity; and therefore, in my Opinion, those Grecians act most rationally, who build Temples to both; sacrificing to the first, as to an Immortal Being, under the Name of Olympian, and honouring the other as a Hero. But the Grecians say many other things on this Subject without due Examination, and in particular have invented the following Fable. When *Hercules*, say they, arriv'd in *Ægypt*, the *Ægyptians* crown'd him with a Garland, and designing to sacrifice him to *Jupiter*, conducted him to the Altar in great Ceremony: During the Way he was silent; but when they had brought him thither, he collected all his Strength, and kill'd every Man that was there present. Now those who tell this Story, seem to me utterly ignorant of the Nature and Laws of the *Ægyptians*. For how can we imagine that a People forbidden to kill any kind of Animal, except Geese, Swine, and such Bulls and Calves as they find without Blemish, would sacrifice Men? And how could *Hercules* kill so many thousands; being then alone,



alone, and at that Time, by their own Confession, no more than a Man? Nevertheless, I desire the Gods and the Heroes would take in good part what I have said concerning these things.

THE Reason that prevails with the Mendefians I mention'd before, not to sacrifice the Goats, either Male or Female, is, because they account *Pan* one of the eight Gods, who, they say, are more antient than the twelve. And indeed their Painters and Sculptors represent *Pan* with the Face and Legs of a Goat, as the Grecians do. Not that they imagine this to be his real Form, for they think him like other Gods; but I have no Inclination to mention the Reason they give for representing him in that manner. However, the Mendefians pay a religious Worship to all Goats, but to the Males much more than to the Females; and highly reverence the Goatherds; particularly one, who is honour'd at his Death by publick Lamentations in all Parts of the Country. In the Language of *Ægypt*, *Pan* and a Goat are equally call'd by the Name of *Mendes*: And in my Time a Goat lay with a Woman of that Country in so publick a manner, that all Men knew the Prodigy to have really happen'd. Swine are accounted such impure Beasts by the *Ægyptians*, that if a Man touches one, even by accident, he presently hastens to the River, and in all his Cloaths plunges himself into the Water. For this reason Hogherds alone, of all the *Ægyptians*, are not suffer'd to enter any of their Temples; neither will any Man give his Daughter in Marriage to one of that Profession, nor take a Wife born of such Parents: So that they are necessitated to intermarry among themselves.

selves. The Ægyptians are forbidden to sacrifice Swine to any other Deities than to *Bacchus*, and to the Moon, when compleatly full ; at which Time they may eat of the Flesh. But if I should mention the Reason they give for the Liberty they then take, and for abstaining from that Animal on all other Festivals, I should offend against Decency : And therefore I shall only say, That when they offer this Sacrifice to the Moon, and have kill'd the Victim, they put the End of the Tail, with the Spleen and Fat, into a Cawl found in the Belly of the Animal ; all which they burn on the sacred Fire, and eat the rest of the Flesh on the Day of the full Moon, tho' at any other time they would not taste it. Those, who on account of their Poverty cannot bear the Expence of this Sacrifice, mould a Paste into the Form of a Hog, and make their Offering. In the Evening of the Festival of *Bacchus*, tho' every one be oblig'd to kill a Swine before the Door of his House, yet he immediately restores the Carcass to the Hogherd that sold him. The rest of this Festival is celebrated in *Ægypt* to the Honour of *Bacchus* with the same Ceremonies as in *Greece* : Only instead of the Phallus they have invented certain Images of one Cubit in Height, so artificially contriv'd with Nerves, that the *Priapus*, almost equal in Bigness to the rest of the Body, is seen to move, while the Women, who make the Procession, carry the Images, singing the Praises of *Bacchus*, and preceded by a Flute. But the Reason they have to form this Part so disproportion'd to the Body, and to give it these Motions, they say is a sacred Mystery. For my own part, I think *Melampus* the Son of *Amytheon*

*theon* was not ignorant of any thing relating to this Ceremony, but perfectly well instructed in all these Rites. For he first introduc'd the Name and Sacrifices of *Bacchus* among the Grecians, together with the Pomp of the Phallus ; tho' he did not so fully explain every Particular, as other Learned Persons have done who liv'd after him. But *Melampus* was certainly the first that taught the Grecians to carry the Phallus in Procession to the Honour of *Bacchus*, and introduc'd all the Ceremonies they use on that Occasion. I think him to have been a wise Man, skilful in the Art of Divination ; and that he instructed the Grecians in many things which were deriv'd from *Ægypt* ; but especially in the Worship of *Bacchus*, changing only some few Particulars. For I shall not say that the Agreement of these two Nations in the use of the same Rites in the Service of this God, is the Effect of Chance ; because they are perform'd in a uniform Manner thro' all *Greece*, and were not lately introduc'd : Neither shall I pretend that the *Ægyptians* have borrow'd these, or any other Rites from the Grecians. But I am of opinion that *Melampus* was instructed in the Ceremonies of *Bacchus* chiefly by *Cadmus* the Tyrian, and those Phœnicians who accompanied him to that Country, which now goes under the Name of *Bœotia*. And indeed the Names of almost all the Grecian Gods were originally deriv'd from the *Ægyptians* ; as I found, after I had heard that they were introduc'd by barbarous Nations. Only we must except *Neptune*, *Castor*, and *Pollux*, mention'd before ; *Juno*, *Vesta*, *Themis*, the *Graces*, *Nereides*, and some others, whose Names are ut-



terly unknown in *Ægypt*, as the *Ægyptians* affirm ; and, as I conjecture, are all owing to the *Pelasgians*, except that of *Neptune*, which they learnt from the *Libyans*, who first invok'd the Name of this God, and always worshipp'd him with singular Veneration. But the *Ægyptians* pay no religious Honour to Heroes.

THESE, and other Rites which I shall afterwards mention, the *Grecians* receiv'd from the *Ægyptians* ; but they learnt of the *Pelasgians* to make the Image of *Hermes* with an erected *Priapus*, the *Athenians* having been the first who practis'd this Manner, and others by their Example. For in that Time the *Pelasgians* inhabited Part of the *Athenian Territories* ; and, because the *Athenians* were accounted among the Nations of *Greece*, came likewise to be esteem'd *Grecians*. Whoever is initiated in the *Cabirian Mysteries* of the *Samothracians*, which they receiv'd from the *Pelasgians*, knows what I say. For these *Pelasgians* were Inhabitants of *Samothracia*, before they came into the Country of *Attica*, and had instructed the *Samothracians* in the *Orgian Rites* ; as they afterwards did the *Athenians*, who by that means were the first of all the *Grecians* that form'd the Images of *Mercury* in the manner above mention'd : For which the *Pelasgians* pretend certain sacred Reasons, explain'd in the *Mysteries of Samothracia*. They had formerly sacrific'd and pray'd to Gods in general, as I was inform'd at *Dodona*, without attributing either Name or Surname to any Deity, which in those Times they had never heard : But they call'd them by the Name of Gods, because they dispos'd and govern'd all Actions and Countries.

tries. After a long Time, the Names of the other Gods were brought among them from *Ægypt*, and last of all that of *Bacchus*: Upon which they consulted the Oracle of *Dodona*, still accounted the most ancient, and then the only Oracle in *Greece*; and having enquir'd, whether they should receive these Names from Barbarians, the Oracle answer'd, they should. So from that time they invok'd the Gods in their Sacrifices, under distinct Names, and the same were afterwards receiv'd by the Grecians from these Pelasgians. But what Original is to be assign'd to each of those Gods; whether they always were, and of what Form, was utterly unknown till of late, and, to use a common Expression, of Yesterday. For I am of Opinion, that *Hesiod* and *Homer*, who liv'd not above four hundred Years before my time, were the Persons that introduc'd the Genealogy of the Gods among the Grecians; impos'd Names upon each; assign'd their Functions and Honours; and cloath'd them in their several Forms. As to the other Poets, suppos'd to be more ancient, I think they liv'd after these. And this is my Sense touching *Hesiod* and *Homer*; but the rest, which I related before, I had from the Priestesses of *Dodona*.

CONCERNING the Oracles of *Greece* and *Libya*, the *Ægyptians* give the following Account. The Priests of the Theban *Jupiter* told me, that two Priestesses were carried away out of that Country by certain Phœnicians; who afterwards, as they were inform'd, sold one of them in *Libya*, and the other in *Greece*, and that these two Women establish'd the first Oracles among those People. When I enquir'd how they

they knew this to be true, they answer'd, That indeed the Women were never found, though all possible Diligence was us'd to that End; but they had since learnt, that things had pass'd as they related. This Account I receiv'd from the Priests of *Thebes*. On the other hand, the principal Priestesses of *Dodona* say, that two black Pigeons flew away at a certain time from *Thebes* in *Ægypt*; that one of these arriv'd in *Libya*, and the other in *Dodona*; that this last, as she sat perch'd on a Beach-tree, admonish'd the Inhabitants with an articulate Voice, to erect an Oracle in that Place to *Jupiter*; and that the People believing this to be no less than a divine Revelation, readily obey'd. They add, that the other Pigeon, which flew into *Libya*, commanded the Lybians to found the Oracle of *Ammon* dedicated to the same God. These things are said by the Priestesses of *Dodona*, and affirm'd by all that belong to the Temple. The eldest of these Women is nam'd *Promeia*, the second *Timarete*, and the third *Nicandra*. But my Opinion is, that if the Phœnicians did really carry off the two Priestesses before mention'd, and sold the one in *Libya*, and the other in *Greece*, this last was bought by the Thesprotians, who inhabited those Parts which are now call'd *Hellas*, and in that time were known by the Name of *Pelasgia*: That during her Servitude she consecrated an Altar to *Jupiter* under a Beach; nothing being more natural, than to suppose that she who had been a Priestess of that God in *Thebes*, would not be unmindful of his Worship in another Place; that this is the Original of that Oracle; and that after she had learnt the Language of *Greece*, she declar'd



clar'd that her Sister had met with the like Fortune, and had been sold in *Libya* by the same Phœnicians. The Dodonæans, as I conjecture, gave them the Name of Pigeons, because they were Barbarians, and their Speech no more understood than the chattering of Birds: But as soon as this Woman became able to speak their Language, they presently reported that the Pigeon had spoken with a human Voice; for while she continued to use a barbarous Tongue, she was no better understood than a Bird. If these things are not so, I desire to be inform'd how a Pigeon should come to speak the Language of Men. In a Word, they seem to have had the Epithet of Black, because they were Ægyptians. And as the Oracles of *Dodona*, and of *Thebes*, are almost alike in every thing, we may conclude, that the Custom of predicting future Events in Temples, is deriv'd from the Ægyptians.

THE Ægyptians were also the first Inventors of Festivals, Ceremonies, and Transactions with the Gods, by the Mediation of others: All which I persuade my self the Grecians receiv'd from that People; because they plainly appear to have been very ancient among the Ægyptians, and but lately introduc'd in *Greece*. 'Tis not thought sufficient in *Ægypt* to celebrate the Festivals of the Gods once every Year; but they have many Times appointed to that End: Particularly in the City of *Bubastis*, where they assemble to worship *Diana* with much Devotion; and in *Busiris*, a Place situate in the midst of *Delta*, where the great Temple of *Isis*, by the Grecians call'd *Demeter*, is built. The Festivals of *Minerva* are solemniz'd in the City of *Sais*;  
and

and those of the Sun in *Heliopolis*. *Latona* is particularly worship'd in *Butus*, and *Mars* in the City of *Papremis*. The manner observ'd in the Festivals of *Bubastis*, is this: Men and Women embark promiscuously in great Numbers, and during the Voyage, some of the Women beat upon a Tabor, while part of the Men play on the Pipe ; the rest of both Sexes singing and striking their Hands together at the same time. At every City they find in their Passage, they hawl in the Vessel, and some of the Women continue their Musick ; but others either provoke the Women of the Place with opprobrious Language, or dance and shew themselves naked : And this they do at every Town that stands by the Shore. When they arrive at *Bubastis*, they celebrate the Festival with numerous Sacrifices, and consume more Wine than in all the rest of the Year. For the Inhabitants say this Assembly usually consists of about seven hundred thousand Men and Women, besides Children. I have already related how the Worship of *Isis* is perform'd in the City of *Busiris* ; and shall only add, that after the Sacrifices, all the Men and Women then present, who always amount to many thousands, discipline themselves, but with what Instrument I may not discover. In this Devotion the Carians that live in *Ægypt* surpass all ; for they cut their Foreheads with Swords, and by this Action distinguish themselves to be Strangers, and not *Ægyptians*. When they meet to sacrifice in the City of *Sais*, they hang up by Night a great number of Lamps fill'd with Oil, and a Mixture of Salt, round every House, the Tow swimming on the Surface. These burn during the whole Night, and the Festival is thence nam'd

nam'd, *The Lighting of Lamps*. The Ægyptians who are not present at this Solemnity, observe the same Ceremonies, wherever they be; and Lamps are lighted that Night, not only in *Sais*, but throughout all Ægypt. Nevertheless, the Reasons for using these Illuminations, and paying so great Respect to this Night, are kept secret. Those who assemble on such solemn Occasions at *Heliopolis* and *Butus*, offer Sacrifices only, without any farther Ceremonies. But in *Papremis*, when they have perform'd their Worship, and finish'd their Offerings, as in other Places, a small number of Priests at the Setting of the Sun attend about the Image of *Mars*; but the far greater part place themselves before the Gates of the Temple, with Clubs in their Hands; while other Men who have devoted themselves to this Service, and frequently amount to above a thousand, arm'd in like manner, assemble together in a Place opposite to them. The Image of the God, which is kept in a little Tabernacle of Wood gilded with Gold, is brought on the Eve of the Festival, and plac'd within another; and those few who are appointed to attend, draw both the Tabernacle and the Image to the Temple on a Chariot of four Wheels. But the Priests, who stand at the Entrance, refusing to give them Admittance, the Votaries, in Duty to the God, begin to strike with their Clubs, and an obstinate Combat ensues, both sides dealing their Blows chiefly on the Head: So that, as I conjecture, many die of the Wounds they receive, though the Ægyptians affirm the contrary. These Rites, if we may believe the Inhabitants, were instituted for the following Cause. They say that *Mars*  
was



was educated abroad, till he attain'd to the Age of a Man; when coming home to visit his Mother, who dwelt in this sacred Place, he was denied Entrance by her Servants, and driven away by Violence; because they had never seen him before. That *Mars* retiring to another City, collected a good number of Men, and returning, fell upon the Servants, and enter'd by Force; in Commemoration of which Action, this Combat is represented on his Festival. The Ægyptians were likewise the first who ordain'd, that Men should abstain from Women in the Temples; and not enter any sacred Place without washing, after the Use of a Woman. For almost all other Nations, except the Ægyptians and Grecians, neither scruple to perform that Action in Temples, nor to go thither unwash'd after they have had the Company of Women; thinking Mankind to be like other Animals. And because they frequently see Beasts and Birds coupling together in Groves and Temples, they imagine that if this Action were disagreeable to God, those Creatures would abstain in those Places. But I cannot approve the Conclusion they draw from this Observation.

THE Ægyptians are beyond measure superstitious in all things concerning Religion; especially in the ensuing Particulars. *Ægypt*, tho' adjoining to *Libya*, abounds not in Variety of Beasts; yet all those they have, both wild and tame, are accounted sacred. But if I should take upon me to give the Reasons of this Opinion, I must enter into a long Discourse of divine things, which I avoid with all possible Care; having hitherto said nothing of that kind,  
unless



a House takes Fire, the manner of this Animal is very surprizing. For though the Ægyptians standing at a Distance, neglect the Progress of the Flames, and take much greater Care to preserve the Cats than the House ; yet, either by creeping sily along the Ground, or leaping over the Heads of the Men, the Cats for the most part find a way to throw themselves into the Fire ; and on these Occasions great Lamentations are heard among the Ægyptians. In whatever House a Cat dies a natural Death, all the Family shave their Eyebrows ; and if a Dog die, they shave the whole Body. All dead Cats are carried to certain sacred Houses, where being put into a Brine, they are afterwards buried in the City of *Bubastis*. Bitches are laid in consecrated Coffins, and interr'd in the Cities where they die, and so are hunting Dogs ; but Hawks and the venomous Mole are carried to the City of *Butus*. The Bears, which are few in number, and Wolves, no bigger than Foxes, are buried in the Places where they are found dead. As for the Crocodiles, they are of a strange Nature. They eat nothing during the four coldest Months ; and though they have four Feet, yet they equally frequent the Water and the Land. They lay their Eggs, and hatch their Young on dry Ground ; staying ashore the greater part of the Day. But they go down to the River by Night, because the Water is then warmer than the Air and Dews. No living thing, that we know, grows to so vast a Size, from so small a Beginning. For their Eggs are little bigger than those of a Goose, and their Young, at the first Appearance, proportionable : But they afterwards grow  
to



to the length of seventeen Cubits and more. They have the Eyes and Tusks of a Hog, with great Teeth, suitable to the rest of the Body. Of all Animals, these alone have no Tongue, and move the upper Jaw only when they eat; the lower never. They have Claws exceedingly strong, and a scaly Hide, impenetrable. The Crocodile is blind in the Water, but very quick-sighted by Land: And because he lives for the most part in the River, his Mouth is generally infested with Leaches: So that though all other Beasts and Birds equally avoid him; yet he lives in Peace with the Trochilus, because he receives a beneficial Service from that Bird. For when the Crocodile goes out of the Water, and opens his Mouth, which he does most commonly towards the South, the Trochilus enters and devours the Leaches; with which good Office the Crocodile is so well pleas'd, that he never hurts him. One part of the Ægyptians esteem the Crocodile sacred; but others pursue him to Death as a common Enemy. Those who inhabit the Country of *Thebes*, and that adjoining to the Lake of *Mæris*, pay a peculiar Veneration to him. For each of these People train up a Crocodile to be so tame as to endure the Hand, putting Strings of Jewels or Gold through his Ears, and a Chain on his Fore-feet. Whilst he lives he is us'd with great Respect, and fed with consecrated Provisions at the publick Charge: And when he is dead, he is preserv'd in Salt and buried in a sacred Coffin. But the Inhabitants of *Elephantis* are so far from accounting the Crocodile sacred, that they eat his Flesh. The Ægyptian Name of this Animal is Champse:

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For the Ionians were the first who call'd them Crocodiles ; because they thought them to be like certain Creatures they find in Hedges, and call by that Name. The ways of taking the Crocodile are various ; but I shall only describe that which to me seems most remarkable. They fasten the Chine of a Hog to an Iron Hook, which they let down into the River, beating a living Pig on the Shore at the same time. The Crocodile hearing the Noise, and making that way, meets with the Chine ; which he devours, and is drawn to Land : Where when he arrives, they presently throw Dirt in his Eyes, and by that means do what they will with him, which otherwise would be difficult. The Water-Horse is esteem'd sacred by the Inhabitants of *Papremis*, though in no other part of *Ægypt*. He is a Quadruped, with divided Feet, and Hoofs like a Bull : His Nose is short and retorted ; but his Mane, Tail, and Voice, resemble those of a Horse, and his Teeth grow out in the manner of Tusshes. He is equal in Bigness to the largest Bull ; and his Skin is so thick, that Darts are cut out of the Hide. A Water-Snake call'd Enhydris is likewise seen in the River ; which, with the Eel and scaly Lepidodus, are in a peculiar manner sacred to the Nile, as the Vulpanser is among the Birds. The Phoenix is another sacred Bird, which I have never seen except in Effigy. He rarely appears in *Ægypt* ; once only in five hundred Years, immediately after the Death of his Father, as the Heliopolitans affirm. If the Painters describe him truly, his Feathers represent a Mixture of Crimson and Gold ; and he resembles the Eagle in Form and Proportion. They say  
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he comes from *Arabia*; and bringing the Body of his Father embalm'd, buries him in the Temple of the Sun. The manner of his Performance, which I think incredible, they relate thus. First he moulds as great a Quantity of Myrrh into the Shape of an Egg, as he is well able to carry; and after having try'd the Weight, he disbowels the Egg, and puts his Father into the hollow Space: When he has done this, and adjusted the Weight to his Strength, he stops the Aperture with more Myrrh, and carries the whole Mass to the Temple of the Sun in *Ægypt*. Such is the Account they give of the Phoenix. In the Country of *Thebes* a small kind of Serpent is found, esteem'd sacred by the *Ægyptians*, having Horns growing on the top of the Head, and no way hurtful to Men. When any of these Serpents die, they are buried in the Temple of *Jupiter*, because they are thought to belong to that God. Having heard that in a Part of *Arabia*, situate a little beyond the City of *Butus*, I might learn something concerning the flying Serpents, I went thither also; and saw there an incredible Quantity of their Bones, amass'd in many Heaps, of different bigness, some greater and others less. The Entrance into this Plain, which lies level with *Ægypt*, is by a narrow Passage between the Mountains; and to this Place, the Inhabitants say, the flying Serpents advance in the beginning of every Spring; but are prevented by the Ibis from proceeding farther, and destroy'd in the Chops of the Hills; for which Service the Ibis is highly reverenc'd by the *Ægyptians*, as both they and the *Arabians* acknowledge. This Bird is, in Colour, of the deepest Black, and in



Bigness equal to a Heron: His Beak is crooked, and his Legs like those of a Stork. This is the Form of the black Ibis, which kills the Serpents. Another sort of Ibis, more commonly seen by Men, has white Feathers on every part of his Body, except the Head, Neck, and Extremities of the Wings and Tail; which are of as deep a Black as those of the other kind: But his Head and Neck are not so big. The Serpent is in Shape like the Water-Snake; but his Wings are destitute of Feathers, and smooth like those of a Bat. And here I leave this Discourse concerning sacred Animals.

THE Ægyptians, who inhabit those Parts of *Ægypt*, which are sow'd with Corn, are of all Nations I ever saw the greatest Reasoners about the Monuments of Antiquity, and Actions of Mankind. Their Manner of Life is this: They purge themselves every Month, three Days successively, by Vomits and Glysters, in order to preserve Health; supposing that all Diseases among Men proceed from the Food they use. For otherwise, the Ægyptians are by Nature the most healthy People of the World, the Libyans only excepted; which, as I conjecture, is to be attributed to the Regularity of the Seasons, and Constancy of the Weather, most Distempers beginning upon some Alteration in the Temperature of the Air. They make their Bread of Olyra, and call it by the Name of *Collestis*; but their Wine is made of Barley, because they have no Vines in that Country. They eat Fish, both pickled and dried in the Sun; together with Quails, Ducks, and smaller Birds, preserv'd in Salt, without any other Preparation. Whatever else has any Resem-

Resemblance to Birds or Fishes, except such as they account sacred, is eaten without Scruple, either boil'd or roasted. At their principal Feasts, when they begin to taste the Wine after Supper, a Person appointed to that End, carries about in a Coffin the Image of a dead Man, carv'd in Wood, and representing the Original in Colour and Shape. These Images, which are always of one, and sometimes of two Cubits in Length, are carried round all the Company, and these Words pronounc'd to every one distinctly, "Look upon this: Then  
 "drink and rejoice; for thou shalt be as this  
 "is." These, and all other Usages deriv'd from their Ancestors, they observe; but will not encrease their Number by new Additions. Among other memorable Customs, they sing the Song of *Linus*, like that which is sung by the Phœnicians, Cyprians and other Nations, who vary the Name according to the different Languages they speak. But the Person they honour in this Song, is evidently the same that the Grecians celebrate. And as I confess my Surprize at many things I found among the Ægyptians, so I more particularly wonder, whence they had this Knowledge of *Linus*; because they seem to have celebrated him from time immemorial. The Ægyptians call him by the Name of *Maneros*; and say, he was the only Son of the first of their Kings; but happening to die by an untimely Death in the Flower of his Age, he is lamented by the Ægyptians in this Mourning Song; which is the only Composition of the kind us'd in *Ægypt*.

IN one Particular, the *Ægyptian* manner is like that of the *Lacedemonians* only among all the *Grecians* : For the young Men rise up from their Seats, and retire out of the way, at the Approach of those who are of elder Years ; which is not practis'd in any other Nation of *Greece*. When the *Ægyptians* salute one another in publick, they bow the Body reciprocally, and carry their Hands to each others Knee. They wear a linen Tunick border'd at the bottom with Fringes, and a Cloak of white woollen Cloth over it ; but to enter into any Temple with this Garment, or to be buried in any thing made of Wool, is accounted profane. This Custom is observ'd by those who are initiated in the Rites of *Orpheus* and *Bacchus* ; which were borrow'd from the *Egyptians* and *Pythagoras*. For among them also, to inter the Dead in woollen Garments is accounted irreligious, and certain mysterious Reasons are alledg'd to justify their Opinion.

THE *Ægyptians* were also the Inventers of divers other things. They assign'd each Month and Day to some particular God ; observing the time of Mens Nativty ; predicting what Fortune they shall have, how they shall die, and what kind of Persons they shall be. All which the *Grecian* Poets have made use of in their Poems. Prodigies abound more in *Ægypt*, than in all the rest of the World ; and, as often as they happen, are describ'd in Writing with their Consequences ; which Accounts they carefully preserve, out of an Opinion, that if the like happen at another time, the Event will be the same. Predictions are not deliver'd by any human Being ; but only by some of the Gods.

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For *Hercules*, *Apollo*, *Minerva*, *Diana*, *Mars*, and *Jupiter* have their several Oracles. Yet that which they reverence above all others, is the Oracle of *Latona* in the City of *Butus*. They are not all administred in the same manner, but differently.

IN these Countries the Art of Physick is distributed into several distinct Parts, and every Physician applies himself wholly to the Cure of one Disease only, no Man ever pretending to more : By which means all Places abound with Physicians ; some professing to cure the Eyes, others the Head, Teeth, or Parts about the Belly, whilst others take upon them the Care of internal Distempers. Their manner of mourning for the Dead, and their Customs relating to Funerals, are these. When a Man of any Consideration dies, all the Female Sex of that Family besmear their Heads and Faces with Dirt ; and leaving the Body at home, march, attended by all their Relations of that Sex, through the Streets of the City, with naked Breasts, and Girdles tied about the Waste, beating themselves as they go : While the Men, on their Part, forming another Company, gird and beat themselves in like manner. When this Office is perform'd, they go to those who are appointed to exercise the Trade of Embalming ; and as soon as the dead Body is brought, the Embalmers shewing several Models made of Wood and painted, ask them which sort they would have. One of these Models is finish'd with the greatest Care, and call'd by a Name which I am not permitted to discover : The second is of an inferior sort and less Value ; and the third is the meanest of all. When those who are concern'd,

have concluded an Agreement, they return home, and the Artifts fall immediately to work in this manner. Firft they draw out the Brains through the Noftriis, with a crooked Instrument of Iron; and infufe certain Medicaments into the vacant Space: Then they open the Belly with an *Æthiopian* Knife made of a sharpened Stone, and take out the Bowels; to which, after they are cleans'd and wash'd in Palm Wine, they add a fufficient Quantity of odoriferous Drugs. When this is done, and the Belly fill'd with pounded Myrrh, Caffia and other Odours, Frankincenfe excepted, they ſew all up again, and lay the Body in Nitre for ſeventy Days, which is the longeſt time allow'd. At the Expiration of this Term, they waſh the whole Body, and binding Fillets of Silk round every part, cover it with Gums, which the *Ægyptians* commonly uſe inſtead of Glue. All being thus finiſh'd, the Relations of the dead receive the Body, and place it in a Frame of Wood, ſhap'd in the Figure of a Man, which they ſet upright againſt the Wall of the Edifice reſerv'd to that End. And this is the moſt coſtly way of preſerving the Dead. Thoſe who to avoid ſo great Expence, will be contented with a more common Preparation, are ſerv'd in the following manner. They fill Syringes with Oil of Cedar, which they inject by the common way, without cutting the Belly, or taking out the Bowels; and after the Body has been laid in Nitre during ſo many Days as I mention'd before, the Oil of Cedar is let out by the Fundament, and by a peculiar Virtue brings away all the Guts and Vitals ſhrunk and putrified, the Nitre having in all this time conſum'd the Fleſh, and left nothing remaining except  
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the Skin and the Bones. When this is done, they deliver the Body without any farther Operation. The third and last manner of preserving the Dead, used only for the poorer sort, is perform'd by the Injection of certain Liquors to cleanse the Bowels, and laying the Body in Nitre for seventy Days; after which they deliver it to be carried away by the Persons concern'd. The Wives of considerable Persons, and all Women who have been beautiful, and dear to their Relations, are not deliver'd to the Embalmers presently after Death, but kept at home three or four Days before they are carried out, in order to prevent those Artificers from abusing the Bodies of such Persons; one of them having been formerly accus'd of this Crime by his Companion. If any Ægyptian, or even a Stranger, be found kill'd by a Crocodile, or drown'd in the River, wherever the Body comes ashore, the Inhabitants are by Law compell'd to pay all the Charges of Embalming, and placing it among the consecrated Monuments, adjusted in the most costly manner. For none of his Friends, or Relations, or any other, may touch his Body, except the Priests of the *Nile*, who bury him with their own Hands, as something more than human. They utterly reject the Grecian Customs; and, to say all at once, will not receive the Usages of any other People. Which Maxim is almost general among the Ægyptians.

BUT the City of *Chemmis*, standing in the Province of *Thebes*, not far from *Nea*, has a Temple of a quadrangular Form dedicated to *Perseus* the Son of *Danae*. This Fabrick is surrounded with Palm-Trees, and adorn'd with a spacious



spacious Portico of Stone, on which two vast Statues, of Stone likewise, are erected. In a Chapel built within the Limits of the consecrated Ground, an Image of *Perseus* is plac'd; where, the Inhabitants affirm, the Hero frequently appears rising out of the Earth, as he often does in other parts of the Temple; that they have one of the Sandals he wore, which is two Cubits in length; and that after his Appearance, a plentiful Year always ensues in *Ægypt*. These things they say; and have instituted all manner of Gymnick Exercises to the Honour of *Perseus*, intirely agreeing with those us'd in *Greece*, rewarding the victorious with Cattle, Apparel, and Skins. When I enquir'd what might be the Reason that *Perseus* appear'd only to them, and why they differ'd from the rest of *Ægypt* in appointing these Gymnick Exercises; they answer'd, that *Perseus* was descended of their Blood. For, said they, *Danaus* and *Lynceus* were both Chemmites, and sail'd together into *Greece*; enumerating the several Generations down to *Perseus*; who passing through *Ægypt*, in order to fetch the Gorgon's Head from *Libya*, (as the Grecians likewise acknowledge) arriv'd in this Country, and having formerly heard the Name of *Chemmis* from his Mother, own'd his Relations, and by his Command these Gymnick Exercises were first instituted. This Opinion is receiv'd by the *Ægyptians* that inhabit above the Morasses; but those who live in the Fenny Parts, are conformable in Manners to the rest of *Ægypt*, and as in other things, so particularly in this, that each Man has no more than one Wife, like the Grecians. With respect to their Food, they have been the Inventors of  
divers

divers sorts. For when the River swells and overflows the Plains, great Numbers of Lillics, which the *Ægyptians* call Lotus, shoot up thro' the Water. These they cut down, and after they are dried in the Sun, take out the Heart of the Plant ; which resembling the Pulp of a Meakin, they mould into a Paste and bake as Bread. They likewise eat the Root of the Lotus, which is round, and equal to an Apple in Bigness. Another Lilly grows in the same Places, much likè to a Rose, with a certain Fruit found at the Foot of the Stem, in Form not unlike a Wasp's Nest, and cover'd with a Pellicule containing divers Kernels of the Size of an Olive Stone, which are eaten either tender or dried. The Byblus they annually gather in the Fens, and divide into two Parts ; the Head is reserv'd for other Uses, but the lower Part being of a Cubit in Length, is eaten and publickly sold. When any one is desirous to eat these Stems dress'd in the best Manner, he stews them in a clean Pan. Some among these People live altogether upon Fish, which they disbowel and dry in the Sun, without any farther dressing.

FISHES that are gregarious, and swim in Company, seldom breed in the River ; but when the Desire of ingendring seizes them, leave the Waters they frequent, and drive out in Shoals to the Sea, the Males leading the Way, and scattering their Spawn upon the Surface. This the Females swallow as they come up, and are thus impregnated. When they find themselves full, they return to their accustom'd Haunts ; tho' not under the Conduct of the Males, but of the Females ; which in their Way home do  
as

as the Males did in their Passage outwards. For they eject their Eggs like small Grains of Milet, which the Males that follow devour; yet such as remain undevour'd, are sometimes nourish'd and become Fish. If any of these Fish happen to be taken in their Passage towards the Sea, they are found bruise'd on the left side of the Head; if in their Return, on the right: Because they swim outwards leaning towards the Land on the left side, and when they return keep so close to the Shore, in fear of being carried down by the Stream, that they bruise themselves frequently on the Bank. When the *Nile* begins to overflow, the hollow Vales and Morasses that lie near the River, are the first that are fill'd by the Inundation, and immediately swarm with infinite Numbers of small Fishes; the Reason of which, as I conjecture, is this: Whilst the annual Inundation of the *Nile* is retreating back, the Fishes lay their Eggs on the Slime, and go off with the last of the Waters; and when the River returns to overflow the same Places again after the Revolution of a Year, these Fishes are immediately produc'd from those Eggs.

THE Ægyptians who inhabit about the Fens use an Oyl call'd *Kiki*, drawn from the Fruit of the Sillicyprian Shrub, which they sow upon the Borders of Rivers and Lakes. This Plant grows wild in *Greece*; but is sow'd in *Ægypt*, and bears great Abundance of Fruit, tho' of an ill Scent. Some bruise it in a Press, and squeeze out the Oyl; others put it into Pans which they set on the Fire, and by that means extract the Juice. The Liquor is unctious, and no less useful in Lamps than other Oyl; but the Odour is strong  
and



and disagreeable. These Parts are much infested with Gnats, and therefore the Inhabitants have contriv'd to defend themselves from that Insect by the following Means. Those who live above the Marshes go up to take their Rest in Towers built to that End ; because the Gnats are prevented by the Winds from mounting so high : And those who inhabit the lower Parts, use this Artifice instead of such Towers. Every Man has a Net, which serves him by Day to take Fish, and at Night to defend the Place where he sleeps ; for if he should wrap himself up either in his Clothes or any kind of Linen, the Gnats would not fail to bite ; but never attempt to pass the Net. Their Ships of Burden are made of the Acantha, which in shape resembles the Cyrænean Lotus, and distills a sort of Gumm. From this Tree they cut Timber of about two Cubits square, in the shape of Tyles, and fasten these Planks together with many long Bands, which when they have well compacted in this manner, they erect the Benches for the Rowers. For they use no kind of Ribs or arch'd Timber in their Work, but bend the Joints of the Inside with Ropes ; having only one Rudder, which passes quite thro' the Planks of the Ship, with a Mast of Acantha, and Sails of Byblus. These Vessels are altogether unfit to mount the River against the Stream, and therefore are always drawn up, unless the Wind prove very fresh and favourable. But when they go with the Current, they fasten a Hurdle of Tamaris with a Rope to the Prow of the Vessel. This Hurdle is strengthen'd with Bands of Reeds, and so let down into the Water. They have likewise a Stone, pierc'd thro' the middle,  
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of about two Talents in weight, which they also let down into the River by another Rope made fast to the Poop ; and by this means the Stream bearing hard upon the Hurdle carries down the Ship with great Expedition, whilst the weight of the Stone balances and keeps it steady. These Vessels are very numerous in those Parts, and some of them carry the weight of many thousand Talents.

WHEN the *Nile* has overflow'd, nothing is seen in *Ægypt*, except the Cities, which appear like the Islands of the *Ægean Sea*. All the rest of the Country is cover'd with the Flood, and Vessels hold not the same Course as at other Times by the Channel of the River, but thro' the midst of the Plains. Those who would pass from *Naucratis* to *Memphis*, leave the common Route, which is by the Pyramids, to sail by the Point of *Delta* and by the City of *Cercasora*: And the Passage from *Canopus* and the Sea to *Naucratis*, is thro' the Plains, by the Cities of *Anthylla* and *Archandra*. Since *Ægypt* has been under the Dominion of the Persians, the Revenues of *Anthylla*, which is a considerable City, have been always given to the Wife of the Person who is entrusted with the Government, for her Expence in Shoes. And the other, as I conjecture, was nam'd *Archandria* by *Danaus*, who married the Daughter of *Archander* of *Pthios*, the Son of *Achæus*. 'Tis possible there may have been another *Archander* ; but most certain that this Name is not *Ægyptian*.

HAVING hitherto advanc'd nothing concerning the *Ægyptians* except what I have either seen, or known by Inquiry ; I shall now proceed to give some Account of their Reports  
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and Traditions, which yet will be interwoven with divers things that I saw. The Priests inform'd me, that *Menes*, who was the first King of *Ægypt*, by throwing up a Rampart above *Memphis* of about a hundred Stades in length, stretching towards the South, dried up that part of the *Nile*, which to his time had pass'd by the Foot of the Mountain of Sand in *Libya*, and caus'd the Water to run from a certain Angle thro' the Hills by a new Channel : That this Passage is diligently preserv'd in our time, and annually repair'd by the Persians ; because if the River should at any time break thro' the Bank, the whole City would probably be drown'd. They added, that the same *Menes*, after he had diverted the course of the Water, built the City which to this Day is call'd *Memphis*, within the antient Bed of the River ; and indeed this Place is situate in one of the narrowest Streights of *Ægypt* : That, on the North and West side he caus'd a Lake to be made without the Walls from the River, which passes on the Eastwardly Part, and founded the magnificent and memorable Temple of *Vulcan* in the same City. After this the same Priests read to me from a Book, the Names of three hundred and thirty Kings who had reign'd after *Menes*. During all which time eighteen were *Æthiopians*, one Woman, and the rest *Ægyptians*. The Woman, like the Queen of *Babylon*, was call'd by the Name of *Nitocris* ; and they inform'd me, that after she had receiv'd the Power from the Hands of the *Ægyptians*, who had slain her Brother and immediate Predecessor, she reveng'd his Death by the following Artifice. She built a Palace for her self, with a spacious  
Hall



Hall under Ground, which seem'd strange to others ; but was contriv'd in order to execute the Design she had laid. For having invited all those she knew to have been principally concern'd in the Death of her Brother, to a great Feast, she let in the River by a private Way, and drown'd them all together ; she herself escaping in the mean time into another Apartment, so well secur'd with a Rampart of Ashes as to preserve her Life. This Account they gave of *Nitocris*. But of the other Kings they said nothing, because they had perform'd no memorable Action ; except *Mæris*, who being the last of them, built the Portico of *Vulcan's* Temple, fronting to the Northward, and caus'd a Lake to be made (the Dimensions of which I shall describe hereafter,) with Pyramids, which I shall also mention when I come to speak of the Lake. In a Word, they assur'd me he had done these great things, and all the rest nothing. And therefore I shall pass them by, to relate the memorable Actions of a succeeding King, whose Name was *Sesostris*.

THE Priests affirm'd, that this King was the first, who passing thro' the Arabian Gulph with a Fleet of long Ships, subdued those Nations that inhabit about the *Red Sea* ; and continued his Expedition, 'till certain Sands prevented him from advancing farther ; That returning to *Ægypt*, he assembled a numerous Army, with which he landed on the Continent, and conquer'd all the Countries where he pass'd : That wherever he subdued any valiant People, fighting strenuously to preserve their Liberty, he erected a Column in that Place, with an Inscription declaring his own Name and Country, and that he had conquer'd

quer'd them by his Power : But when he subdued a Nation either without fighting, or by an easy Victory, he caus'd a Pillar and Inscriptions to be erected, as in the Places where he found the greatest Resistance, with the Addition of Figures representing the secret Part of a Woman, to perpetuate the Memory of their Cowardice. In this manner extending his Conquests thro' the Continent, he march'd out of *Asia* into *Europe*, and subdued the Scythians and Thracians. For so far, and no farther, the *Ægyptian* Army appears to have penetrated, because their Pillars are to be seen in those Countries, and no where beyond them. From thence returning to *Ægypt*, and arriving at the River *Phasis*, I cannot affirm, whether he appointed part of his Army to inhabit that Country, or whether some of his Forces grown uneasy with the Fatigues of their Expedition, did voluntarily remain in that Region ; but the Inhabitants of *Colchis* seem to me of *Ægyptian* Extraction ; which I collected rather from my own Experience, than the Information of others. And tho' upon Inquiry I found more evident Marks of this Relation among the Colchians than in *Ægypt* ; yet the *Ægyptians* say they believe them to be descended from a part of the Army of *Sesostris* ; which I think probable, because their Complexion is swarthy, and their Hair frizled, tho' no certain Proof ; for others are so likewise. But that which weighs most with me is, that the Colchians, *Ægyptians*, and *Æthiopians* are the only Nations of the World, who from time immemorial have been circumcis'd. For the Phœnicians, and those Syrians that inhabit *Palestine*, acknowledge they

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receiv'd the Circumcision from the *Ægyptians* : As the other Syrians, who possess the Countries adjacent to the River *Thermodon* and *Parthenion*, with their Neighbours the *Macronians*, confess they very lately learn'd the same Custom from the *Colchians*. And these are the only Nations that are circumcis'd, and imitate the *Ægyptians* in the Use of this Ceremony. But whether the *Æthiopians* had this Usage from the *Ægyptians*, or these, on the contrary, from the *Æthiopians*, is a thing too ancient and obscure for me to determine. Yet I am inclin'd to believe that the *Æthiopians* took up this Custom by conversing with the *Ægyptians* ; because we see that none of those *Phœnicians*, who have any Commerce with the *Grecians*, continue to imitate the *Ægyptians* in this Usage, of circumcising their Children. One thing more I shall mention, in which the *Colchians* resemble the *Ægyptians*. They alone of all People work their Thread after the manner of *Ægypt* ; and the same way of Living, as well as the same Language, is common to both Nations ; tho' the *Grecians* call the Thread they import from *Colchis*, by the Name of *Sardonian*, and that which comes from *Ægypt* by the proper Name of the Country.

THE Pillars erected by *Sesostris* King of *Ægypt* in the Countries he subdued, was for the most part demolish'd : Yet I saw some of them standing in the Syrian *Palestine*, with the Inscriptions I mention'd before, and the genital Parts of a Woman. Two Images likewise of this King, carv'd on Stone, are seen in *Ionia*, upon the Ways that lead from *Ephesus* to *Phocæa*, and from *Sardis* to *Smyrna*. His Figure is five Palms



in height, holding a Bow in one Hand and an Arrow in the other, and arm'd after the Ægyptian and Æthiopian Manner. On a Line drawn from one Shoulder to the other these Words are engrav'd in the sacred Letters of *Ægypt*, *I obtain'd this Region by the Strength of these Arms*. The Stone does not discover who the Person represented was, nor from whence he came; and tho' this is well known by other means, yet some who have seen the Monument, have grossly mistaken it for an Image of *Memnon*. The Priests farther inform'd me, that *Sesostris* follow'd by great Numbers of Captives drawn out of the Countries he had conquer'd, landed in his Return at the *Pelusian Daphne*; where his Brother, to whom he had committed the Government of *Ægypt* during his Absence, desir'd him to accept the Entertainment of his House for himself and Sons; and having prevail'd with the King to stay, he caus'd a great quantity of combustible Matter to be laid in all the Passages, and set on fire: That *Sesostris* being inform'd of the Danger, and consulting with his Wife, who had accompany'd him in his Expedition, she advis'd him to take two of his six Sons, and extending their Bodies on the Fire, form a kind of Bridge in order to make his Escape: That her Counsel was put in Execution, and two of his Sons perishing in the Flames, he himself with all the rest was preserved; and afterwards punish'd his Brother in an exemplary manner for this Treachery: That as to the multitude of Prisoners he brought with him from his foreign Conquests, he employ'd them partly in drawing those immense Stones, which are seen in the Temple of *Vulcan*, and partly in digging the Canals

nals of *Ægypt*, which has rendred the Ways impracticable for Horsemen, or any kind of Land-Carriage, whereas before that time they were constantly frequented by both : But the Number and different Forms of these Aqueducts in a Country, which is altogether level, has made them inaccessible to either. Yet this was design'd by *Sesostris*, to the end that those who inhabit the Cities and other Places that lie remote from the River, and have no Rain, might be plentifully supplied with Water to drink, out of their own Wells, after the Inundations of the *Nile* are withdrawn : And for this Reason, these Canals were cut throughout *Ægypt*. They told me also that this King made an equal Division of all the Lands in *Ægypt*, and assign'd a square Piece of Ground to every *Ægyptian*, reserving to himself a certain Rent, which he commanded them to pay annually ; yet if the River happen'd to diminish any Man's Portion, he presently went with his Complaint to the King, who always deputed certain Inspectors to measure the Remainder of the Land, and adjust the Payment in Proportion to the Loss. Hence Geometry, as I conjecture, had its beginning, and was afterwards introduc'd among the Grecians. But Astronomy, with the Use of the Gnomon, and the Division of the Day into twelve Parts, they receiv'd from the Babylonians : *Sesostris* alone of all the *Ægyptian* Kings was Master of *Æthiopia* ; and for a Monument of his Possession, left divers Statues of Stone erected at the Entrance of *Vulcan's* Temple. Two of these, representing himself and his Wife, are thirty Cubits in height ; and four other Statues representing his four Sons are  
of

of twenty Cubits each. Many Ages after, when the Statue of *Darius* the Persian was brought thither, the Priest of *Vulcan* would not suffer it to be plac'd above that of *Sesostris*, saying openly, that the Actions of the Persian were not so illustrious as those of the Ægyptian King. For besides the Conquest of *Scythia*, his other Acquisitions were equal to those of *Darius*, who could not subdue the Scythians: And to prefer a Man before *Sesostris*, who had not surpass'd him in glorious Actions, would be unjust. All which was forgiven by *Darius*.

AFTER the Death of *Sesostris*, his Son *Phe-ron* succeeded him in the Kingdom. But he undertook no military Expedition, and became blind by this Accident: At a Time when the *Nile* had overflow'd in an extraordinary manner, to the height of more than eighteen Cubits above the Surface of the Earth, a great Storm of Wind arose, and put the Waters into a violent Agitation. Upon this the King, in an insolent Humour, took a Javelin in his Hand, and having thrown it among the rowling Billows, was presently seiz'd with a Pain in his Eyes, which made him blind for ten Years. In the eleventh Year, a Message was brought from the Oracle of *Butus*, importing, that the time of his Punishment was expir'd, and he should recover his Sight, if he would wash his Eyes with the Urine of a Woman, who had never accompanied with any other Man than her own Husband. In Obedience to the Oracle, he first tried the Urine of his own Wife; but finding no Relief, made use of that of others indifferently, till at last his Sight was restor'd. Upon which he or-



der'd all those Women whose Urine he had unsuccessfully tried, to be sent to a Place call'd *Erythrebolus*, from the redness of the Soil, where he caus'd them to be burnt, together with the City; and married the Woman by whose means he had been cur'd of his Blindness. After this, he dedicated many considerable Offerings in all the Temples, to perpetuate the Memory of his Recovery; but the most memorable were two magnificent Obelisks which he erected in the Temple of the Sun, each of one Stone only, a hundred Cubits in height, and eight Cubits in breadth. The Priests farther inform'd me, that a Native of *Memphis*, who in the Grecian Language would be nam'd *Proteus*, succeeded him in the Kingdom, and is honour'd in a stately Temple, which is still seen at *Memphis*, richly adorn'd, and standing on the North Side of that dedicated to *Vulcan*. The Parts adjacent to the Temple are inhabited by Phoenicians of *Tyre*, and all that Region is call'd the *Tyrian Camp*. In this Temple is a Chapel dedicated to *Venus the Stranger*, which I conjecture to be meant of *Helena* the Daughter of *Tyndarus*, who, as I have heard, went under that Name, and resided some time in the Court of *Proteus*. For of all the Temples that are dedicated to the other *Venus*, not one is known by this Name. And indeed, when I enquir'd of the Priests concerning *Helena*, they told me, that after *Alexander* had carried her off from *Sparta*, he met with a violent Storm in his Return homewards, which drove him out of the *Ægean* into the *Ægyptian* Sea; and still continuing with great Fury, forc'd him to put in at *Tarichea*, a Place situate in the Canopcan Mouth of the River *Nile*. On that  
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Shore stood a Temple of *Hercules*, which remains to this Day ; whither, if the Servant of any Person flies, and devoting himself to the God, takes upon him certain sacred Marks, he may not be forc'd from thence under any Pretext : And this Privilege has been preserv'd without Violation to our Time. When therefore the Slaves of *Alexander* had heard of this Immunity, they fled to the Temple, and as Suppliants putting themselves under the Protection of *Hercules*, accus'd their Master of the Rape of *Helena*, omitting nothing that might aggravate the Injury he had done to *Menelaus*. These Complaints were made in the Presence of the Priests, and before the Governor of that Province, whose Name was *Thonis*. Upon which the Governor immediately dispatch'd a Messenger to *Proteus*, at *Memphis*, with Orders to inform him, “ That a certain Stranger, born  
“ at *Troy*, was arriv'd, who had been guilty of  
“ a most nefarious Action in *Greece* ; having se-  
“ duc'd the Wife of his Host, and carried her  
“ away with immense Riches : That a violent  
“ Tempest had forc'd him to land in *Ægypt* ;  
“ and that therefore the King would deter-  
“ mine, whether he should be permitted to  
“ depart with Impunity, or whether he, and  
“ all he had brought with him, should be  
“ seiz'd ? ” In Answer to this Message *Proteus* commanded, that the Man, whoever he was, that had so injuriously violated the Rights of Hospitality, should be sent to him, that he might hear what he had to say for himself. Which Answer being brought to *Thonis*, he seiz'd the Person of *Alexander* ; secur'd his Ships, and sent him to *Memphis*, with *Helena*, his  

Riches,

Riches, and all his Slaves. When they arriv'd there, and *Proteus* had ask'd *Alexander*, who he was, and whence he came, he gave him an Account of his Family, Country, Name, and to what Parts he was bound. But the King proceeding to demand, in what Place he had met with *Helena*, he began to shift, and to deliver his Answer in ambiguous Words; 'till the fugitive Suppliants openly accus'd him, and discover'd all the Circumstances of his Crime. Then *Proteus* said, " If I were not very unwilling to  
 " put Strangers to Death, forc'd by the Winds  
 " to take Refuge in my Territories, I would  
 " avenge the Injuries thou hast done to that  
 " Grecian: Thou hast shewn thy self the basest  
 " of Men, in violating the sacred Laws of Hospitality, and seducing the Wife of one, who  
 " entertain'd thee in his House with Kindness ;  
 " and, as if it had not been enough to debauch  
 " his Wife, thou hast brought her away with  
 " thee; and to compleat thy Crime, hast robb'd  
 " him of his Treasures : Therefore, though I  
 " cannot persuade my self to kill a Stranger, yet  
 " I will not suffer thee to carry away the Woman, or the Riches thou hast plunder'd ; but  
 " shall preserve both, in order to restore them  
 " to thy injur'd Host, upon his Demand; commanding thee and all thy Companions to depart out of my Kingdom within three Days,  
 " under Pain of being treated as Enemies." In this manner the Priests reported the Arrival of *Helena* in *Ægypt*. And I am of Opinion, that *Homer* had heard the same Relation ; but not thinking it proper to be inserted in an Epick Poem with these Circumstances, he alter'd the Relation, though he has plainly shewn he was  
 not



not ignorant of what I have mention'd; as is sufficiently manifest in his *Iliad*, and never retracted in any part of that Work. For describing the Voyages of *Alexander*, he shews, that after he had been driven through divers Seas, he arriv'd at *Sidon* in *Phœnicia*; which is prov'd by these Verses, inserted in the Description of *Dionedes's* Valour.

*There Garments lay, in various Colours wrought,  
The Work of Sidon's Dames, from Sidon brought  
By Godlike Paris, when he plow'd the Seas,  
And high-born Hellen wasted o'er from Greece.*

In the *Odysses* also the following Lines are read.

*Jove's Daughter had an Antidote in store,  
Which she receiv'd from Polydamne's Hand,  
Wife to th' Ægyptian Thonis: For that Soil  
Abounds no less with good than noxious Plants.*

To which may be added these Words of *Mene-laüs* to *Telemachus*.

*The Gods detain'd me on th' Ægyptian Shore,  
Because I fail'd whole Hecatombs to pay,  
Which they expected.*

The Tenor of these Verses sufficiently shews, that *Homer* was not ignorant of *Alexander's* Arrival in *Ægypt*. For the Coast of *Syria* lies next adjoining to that of *Ægypt*, and the *Phœnicians* of *Sidon* are Inhabitants of *Syria*. So that these Lines, together with the Mention of this Region, plainly prove that *Homer* was not the Author of the *Cyprian Verses*, but some other Person.

Person. For they affirm, that when *Alexander* brought away *Helena* from *Sparta*, he had both Wind and Weather so favourable, that he arriv'd at *Troy* in three Days, whereas *Homer* in his *Iliad* says he was driven from one Place to another. And so I take my leave of him and the *Cyprian Verses*.

· WHEN I ask'd the Priests whether the Account of the Trojan War, as related by the Grecians, was not an impertinent Story, they assur'd me they were inform'd by *Menelaus* himself, that after the Rape of *Helena*, the Grecians resolving to assist him, form'd a numerous Army, and landed in *Teucris*: that upon their landing, they mark'd out and fortified a Camp, and sent Ambassadors to *Ilium*, of which Embassy *Menelaus* was one: That these Ambassadors went to the City, and demanded *Helena*, with all the Treasures *Alexander* had stolen, and Satisfaction for the Injuries done: That the Trojans protested and swore, both at that time and since, that neither *Helena*, nor the Riches they demanded, were in their Power, but in *Ægypt*; and therefore to demand Restitution from them, of things that were in the Possession of *Proteus* King of *Ægypt*, was unjust: That the Grecians taking this Answer for a mere Mockery, began the Siege, which they continued till the City was taken: That when they were Masters of *Troy*, finding the Trojans still persisting in their Asseverations, and *Helena* no where appearing, they gave Credit to their former Protestations, and sent *Menelaus* to *Ægypt*; where being arriv'd, he sail'd up to *Memphis*, and having truly related what had pass'd, was affectionately entertain'd by the King; had his Wife, with all his Treasures,

fores, reſtor'd to him without any Injury done to her Perſon ; and that notwithstanding this Kindneſs, *Menelaus* prov'd ungrateful to the *Ægyptians*: For being long detain'd in *Ægypt* by contrary Winds, he perpetrated a moſt impious Action ; taking two Children, Natives of that Country, and opening their Bodies, in order to conſult their Intrails concerning his Departure ; which being diſcover'd, and the Inhabitants in Detestation of his Cruelty preparing to ſeize him, he ſet ſail with Precipitation, and fled to *Libya* ; though what farther Adventures he had they could not tell: Concluding, that they had learnt ſome of theſe Particulars from the Information of others, and were fully aſſur'd of the reſt, becauſe they were done among them. To this Relation of the Priests, if I ſhould add my own Opinion concerning *Helena*, I would ſay, that if ſhe had been within the Territories of *Ilium*, doubtleſs the Trojans would have ſurrender'd her to the Grecians, either with or without the Conſent of *Alexander*. For certainly *Priamus*, and all thoſe about him, could never be ſo deſperately mad to bring themſelves, with their Children and the whole Kingdom, into the utmoſt Hazard, only that *Alexander* might enjoy *Helena*. But let us ſuppoſe they might take ſuch a Reſolution at firſt ; yet after the Slaughter of ſuch vaſt Numbers of Trojans, together with two or three of the King's Sons, or more, if we may believe the Poets, that were kill'd, fighting againſt the Grecians, I cannot forbear to think, that if *Priamus* himſelf had married *Helena*, he would have reſtor'd her to the Achaians, to be deliver'd from ſo great a Calamity. Beſides, *Alexander* not being the  
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next Heir to the Crown, could have no Pretence to govern all things during the Life of an aged King: *Hector* was elder than he; rightful Successor to *Priamus*, and much more considerable for Valour; and could not with any Decency abet and support the Injustice of his Brother; by whose means so many Evils had already happen'd, and were daily impending over his own Head, and over all the Trojans in general. But indeed *Helena* was not in their Power, though the Grecians would not believe them when they spoke the truth; Heaven permitting, as I conjecture, that they should be utterly destroy'd, in order to convince Men, that the Gods have great Punishments in Reserve for atrocious Crimes. And thus I have deliver'd my Opinion concerning these things.

THE Priests likewise inform'd me, that upon the Death of *Proteus*, *Rampsinitus* succeeded him, and for a Monument of his Magnificence, added to the Temple of *Vulcan* a Portico fronting to the West, and erected two Statues before this Building, of twenty five Cubits each. One of these looks to the Northward, and is adored by the Ægyptians under the Name of *Summer*: The other facing the South, is altogether neglected, and goes by the Name of *Winter*. *Rampsinitus* heap'd together a far greater Quantity of Silver than any of the succeeding Kings are said to have possess'd; and being desirous to secure his Treasures, built an Apartment of Stone, which had one Wall on the Outside of the Palace. This Situation the Architect made use of to deceive the King, and plac'd one of the Stones in so loose a manner, that a Man might easily take it out. Some time after the Building

ing was finish'd, and the King had lodg'd his Riches in the Place, the Architect lying upon his Death-bed, call'd his two Sons, and acquainted them, that he had contriv'd the King's Treasury in such a manner, that they might always furnish themselves with the means of living plentifully; directing them to the Place, and explaining all the Particulars they were to observe, in taking out and putting in the Stone: In a Word, he told them, if they would follow his Instructions, they might be Treasurers of all the King's Riches. The Sons waited not long after the Death of their Father to put his Counsel in Execution, and went by Night to the Palace; where having found the Place, they remov'd the Stone without Difficulty, and carried off a great Quantity of Silver. *Rampsinitus* entering one Day into the Treasury, and seeing his Heaps much diminish'd, fell into a great Surprize; in regard he knew not whom to blame, having found all entire, and the Apartment, in Appearance, well secur'd. But after the King had two or three times successively visited his Treasures, and always found them diminish'd, he order'd Nets to be made, and spread about the Vessels that contain'd his Money. The Thieves coming as before, one of them enter'd, and going to a Vessel fill'd with Silver, was presently taken in the Snare. Finding himself in this Extremity, he immediately call'd his Brother, and acquainting him with his Misfortune, desir'd him to come in, and cut off his Head, lest the whole Intrigue should be discover'd, and neither of them escape with Life. The Brother comprehending the Reason of his Request, did as he desir'd, and having put the Stone in its proper Place,

Place, return'd home with the Head. Early in the Morning the King coming to the Treasury, was not a little astonish'd to find the Body of the Thief taken in the Net without a Head, and the whole Edifice entire, without the least Sign of any Person going out or coming in. In this Perplexity he went away, and commanded the Body to be hang'd on the Wall ; appointing a Guard, with strict Orders, if they should see any one weeping at the Spectacle, or pitying the Person, to bring him immediately before the King. But no sooner was the Body thus expos'd, than the Mother fell into a great Passion, and commanded her surviving Son, by any Means he could contrive, to take down and bring away the Corps of his Brother : Threatning, if he refus'd, to go to the King, and let him know that he was the Thief who had robb'd the Treasury. The Son earnestly endeavour'd to dissuade his Mother from her Purpose ; but finding nothing could prevail, he made ready his Asses, and having loaded them with Skins fill'd with Wine, and driven them near the Guards that were appointed to watch the dead Body, he open'd two or three of the Skins, and when he saw the Wine running out, struck himself upon the Head, and cried out lamentably ; as if his Confusion had been so great, that he knew not to which of his Asses he should run first. The Guards seeing so much Wine lost, ran presently to the Asses with Pots in their Hands to receive the Liquor, and make use of the present Opportunity ; which the Man perceiving, feign'd himself highly incens'd, and rail'd bitterly against the Soldiers. But they, on the contrary, giving him good Words,  
he



he grew calm again, and pretending to be pacified, led his Asses out of the Way, as if he design'd to secure the rest of his Wine ; till at last, falling into a Dialogue of Mirth and Railery with the Guards, he gave one of the Skins among them. The Soldiers immediately sat down to drink, and taking him by the Hand, desir'd him to do as they did ; which he accepting, and finding them fond of his Company, was so liberal of his Wine, that they made themselves drunk, and fell asleep in the Place. By this means he took down his Brother in the dead of Night ; and having, in Derision, shav'd all the Guard on the right Cheek, he laid the Body upon one of his Asses, and brought it home to his Mother, according to her Desire. They added, that the King hearing the Body of the Thief had been stolen, was much disturb'd ; and resolving, by any Means, to find out the Contriver of this Artifice, form'd a Design, which to me seems incredible ; commanding his Daughter to prostitute her self at home to all Comers indifferently, after having first oblig'd every one in particular, to let her know the most subtle, and most wicked Actions of his whole Life ; and enjoining her, when any one should discover himself guilty of the Fact relating to the Thief, that she should lay Hands on him, and not suffer him to escape. His Daughter obey'd ; and the Thief not ignorant to what End this Contrivance tended, and desirous to clude the King's Design, cut off an Arm from the Body of a Man newly expir'd, and putting it under his Cloak, went to the Daughter of *Rampsinitus*. At his coming, when she ask'd him the same Questions she had

had

had propos'd to others, he answer'd, That the most wicked Action he ever did, was, to cut off his Brother's Head in the Treasury ; and the most subtle, was the Artifice he contriv'd to make the Guard drunk, and by that means to carry off the Body. No sooner had he said this, than she offer'd to lay Hands on him ; but he being favour'd by the Night, put the dead Hand into hers ; and while she thought she held him fast, convey'd himself away, and ran out of the House. When the King was inform'd of this Event, he was astonish'd at the Invention and Audaciousness of the Man ; and a short time after, caus'd Proclamation to be made in all Places, that he would not only pardon him, but reward him amply, if he would discover himself. The Thief, in Confidence of this Promise, went directly to the Palace ; and *Rampsinitus*, in Admiration of his Subtlety, gave him his Daughter in Marriage : Accounting him the most knowing of all Men, because he knew more than the Ægyptians, who are wiser than the rest of Mankind.

AFTER this, they said, *Rampsinitus* descended alive into those Places which the Grecians call *Hades* ; where playing at Dice with *Ceres*, he sometimes won, and other times lost : That she presented him, at his Departure, with a Basin of Gold ; and that the Ægyptians celebrate a certain Festival, from the Day of his Descent to that of his Reascension, which I have seen them observe in my time : But whether that Adventure, or some other thing gave Birth to this Solemnity, I cannot determine. However, the Priests every Year at that time, cloathing one of their Order in a Cloak woven the  
same

same Day, and covering his Eyes with a Mitre, guide him into the Way that leads towards the Temple of *Ceres*, and then return: Upon which, they say, two Wolves come and conduct him to the Temple, twenty Stades distant from the City, and afterwards accompany him back to the Place from whence he came. These things are related by the *Ægyptians*; and if any Man think them credible, he is at Liberty: For me, I am oblig'd to write what I have heard.

THE *Ægyptians* hold, that the sovereign Power of the infernal Regions is exercis'd by *Ceres* and *Bacchus*; and were the first of all Mankind, who affirm'd the Immortality of Man's Soul; which, they say, upon the Death of the Body always enters into some other Animal; and passing, by a continued Rotation, through the different Kinds of Aerial, Terrestrial, and Marine Beings, returns again into a human Body, after the Revolution of three thousand Years. Yet this Opinion divers Grecians have publish'd for their own, in these and former times; but I shall forbear to mention them, though I am not ignorant of their Names. They told me likewise, that to the Reign of *Rampsinitus*, Justice and good Order were preserv'd in *Ægypt*, and that the Kingdom flourish'd in Plenty: But that *Cheops* who succeeded him, was a most flagitious Tyrant. For after he had shut up all the Temples, and forbidden the Publick Sacrifices, he oppress'd the *Ægyptians* with hard Labour; appointing some to receive the Stones that were dug out of the Quarries in the Arabian Mountains, and to draw them down to the *Nile*, in order to be transported in Vessels to the other

P

Side



Side of that River; and ordering others to convey them from thence towards the Mountain call'd *Libycus*. About a hundred thousand Men were employ'd in this Labour, ten thousand every three Months: And ten Years were spent in the building of a Bridge, which I think to be a Work little less considerable than the Pyramid. For that Bridge is five Stades in length; sixty Foot broad; and in the highest part, forty eight Foot in Altitude; all of polish'd Stone, and carv'd with the Figures of various Animals. The Pyramid, and the subterraneous Vaults, built within the Hill, on which the Pyramids stand, were the Labour of twenty Years. Into this Place he convey'd the *Nile*, by a Trench, and form'd a little Island in the midst of the Waters, designing to place his Sepulchre on that Ground. This Pyramid is Quadrilateral, every Face containing eight Plethrons in length, and the same Measure in height. All the Stones are thirty Foot long, well squar'd, and jointed with the greatest Exactness; rising on the Outside by a gradual Ascent, which some call Stairs, and others little Altars, contriv'd in the following Manner: When they had laid the first Range, they carried other Stones up thither, by a short Engine of Wood, and from thence to the second by another; for these Engines thus employ'd, were equal in Number to the several Orders of Stone: Or perhaps the Engine was but one; and being easily manag'd, might be remov'd as often as they plac'd a Stone; for I have heard the Relation both ways. The highest were first finish'd, and the rest in their proper Order; but last of all those that are lowest and nearest the Ground. On this Pyramid, an  
Inscription

Inscription is seen, declaring in *Ægyptian* Characters, how much was expended in Radishes, Onions and Garlick for the Workmen ; which the Interpreter, as I well remember, told me, amounted to no less than the Sum of sixteen hundred Talents of Silver. And if this be true, how much more may we think was expended in Iron Tools, in Bread, and in Cloaths for the Labourers, during the time they were building this Monument ; besides the great Sums that must of Necessity have been spent, while they were employ'd in transporting the Stones, and digging the subterraneous Vaults ? In the End, *Cheops* having exhausted his Treasures, arriv'd to such a Degree of Infamy, that he prostituted his own Daughter in a certain Apartment ; commanding her to get as much Money as she could ; but the Sum they mention'd not. She obey'd the Order of her Father ; and at the same time contriving to leave a Monument of her self, ask'd every one that came, to give her a Stone towards the Edifice she design'd. By which means she built that Pyramid which stands in the Midst of the three, within View of the great Pyramid, and extends to the length of a Plethron and half on every side of the Basis. Fifty Years, as the *Ægyptians* say, *Cheops* reign'd, and when he was dead, his Brother *Cephrenes* succeeded to the Kingdom ; imitating him in other things, and particularly in building a Pyramid ; which yet is far inferior in Dimensions to that of *Cheops* (for we our selves measur'd them) having no subterraneous Chambers, nor a Channel, like the other, deriv'd from the *Nile*, and forming a kind of Island within, on which they say the Body of *Cheops* lies deposited. The

lower part of this Fabrick is built with Æthiopian Marble of various Colours, forty Foot from the Ground. But they are both of equal Altitude, and stand on the same Hill; which rises to the height of about a hundred Foot. They inform'd me; that *Cephrenes* reign'd fifty six Years; and that the Ægyptians having been thus oppress'd with all manner of Calamities, during one hundred and sixty Years, in all which time the Temples were never open'd, had conceiv'd so great an Aversion to the Memory of the two Kings, that no Ægyptian will mention their Names; but always attribute their Pyramids to one *Philiton* a Shepherd, who kept his Cattle in those Parts. They said also, that after the Death of *Cephrenes*, *Mycerinus* the Son of *Cheops* became King; and disapproving the Conduct of his Father, open'd the Temples, and permitted the People, who were reduc'd to the last Extremities, to apply themselves to their own Affairs, and to sacrifice as in preceding times: That the Ægyptians praise this King above all others; particularly for administering Justice with so much Clemency, that when any Man complain'd of a hard Sentence, he us'd to make him amends, by some Present out of his own Treasury: That while he was thus beneficent to his People, and careful of their Welfare, the first Misfortune that beset him; was the Death of his only Daughter; with which Calamity being extremely afflicted, he resolv'd to bury her in an extraordinary manner; and having caus'd the Image of a Cow to be made of Wood richly guilded with Gold, he put the Body of his Daughter into the Machine. This Cow was not interr'd in the Ground; but continued to my time, expos'd



expos'd to open View, in a magnificent Chamber of the Royal Palace in the City of *Sais*; where they burn exquisite Odours all the Day, and illuminate the Place by Night with a Lamp. In another Room contiguous to this, are seen the Images of *Mycerinus* his Concubines, as the Priests of *Sais* affirm: And indeed about twenty Statues of Wood stand naked in that Place; but touching the Women they represent, I know no more than they were pleas'd to tell me. Yet some giving a different Account of this Monument, and of these Statues, say, that *Mycerinus* falling in Love with his Daughter, us'd violent Means to obtain her; which she resenting, hang'd her self, and was buried in this manner by her Father: That her Mother cut off the Hands of her Maids, for assisting *Mycerinus* in the Rape of his Daughter; and for that Reason, say they, the Statues are made, as the Originals were mutilated for their Offence. But these things, as I conjecture, are not said seriously; especially in that Particular relating to the Images, the Hands of which were seen by me scatter'd on the Floor; and I plainly perceiv'd they had dropp'd off through length of Time. The Body of the Cow is cover'd with Phœnician Trappings, except the Head and Neck, which are richly guilded; and a Circle of Gold in Imitation of the Sun is plac'd between the Horns. This Animal is represented kneeling, and equal in Proportion to the largest living Cow. The Ægyptians annually carry her out of the Apartment, where she is plac'd; and after having whipp'd a certain God, not to be nam'd by me on this Occasion, they bring her

into the Light ; which they say is done, because the Daughter of *Mycerinus* desir'd her Father before she died, that he would permit her to see the Sun once every Year. Another Calamity fell upon this King, after the Death of his Daughter. For a Prophecy was brought to him from the City of *Butus*, importing, that he had no more than six Years to live, and should die in the seventh : Which Denunciation having heard with Impatience, he sent a bitter Complaint to the Oracle ; reproaching the God, That his Father and Uncle, who had shut up the Temples, despis'd the Gods, and destroy'd vast Numbers of Men, had liv'd long ; and he, notwithstanding his Piety and Religion, must die so soon. But the Oracle, in Answer, sent him another Message, to acquaint him, that his Life was shorten'd, because he had not acted in Conformity to the Decrees of Fate ; which had determin'd that *Ægypt* should be afflicted during one hundred and fifty Years ; and that this was well known to the two Kings his Predecessors, though not understood by him. *Mycerinus* finding himself thus condemn'd by the Gods, commanded a great Number of Lamps to be made, and lighted every Night, that he might incessantly pass the time in drinking and Pleasure ; roving frequently by Night and by Day about the Plains and Groves, wherever he could hear of the most agreeable Company ; imagining by this Artifice to convict the Oracle of Falshood, and by turning the Nights into so many Days, to live twelve Years instead of six. This King likewise left a Pyramid of a quadrangular Form ; but lower by twenty Foot than that of his Father, every Side extending to the length

length of three Plethrons, and built to the Middle with Æthiopian Stone. Some of the Grecians, without Reason, attribute this Monument to the Curtezan *Rhodophis*; but to me they seem ignorant who she was. For as she could not have undertaken to build a Pyramid, which, if I may use the Expression, would require such an infinite Sum; so she did not live in the same time, but under the Reign of *Amasis*, very many Years after the Death of those Kings who founded the Pyramids. She was a Native of *Thrace*, Servant to *Iadmon* the Samian of *Hephæstropolis*, and Fellow-servant with *Æsop*, the Inventer of the Fables, who likewise belong'd to *Iadmon*, as appears by this Testimony chiefly. For when the Delphians had several times demanded by publick Proclamation, who would take the Penalty impos'd by the Oracle for the Death of *Æsop*, no Man appear'd, except *Iadmon* the Grandson of this *Iadmon*, who was the Master of *Æsop*. *Xanthus* the Samian transported *Rhodophis* to *Ægypt*, in order to get Money; but *Charaxus* of *Mitylene*, Son to *Scamandronymus*, and Brother to *Sappho* the Poetess, purchas'd her Liberty with a great Sum. By this means being deliver'd from Servitude, *Rhodophis* continued in *Ægypt*: And as she became extremely beautiful, acquir'd great Treasures for a Person of her Condition, though no way sufficient to defray the Expence of such a Pyramid. And whoever considers the Tenth of her Riches, which is to be seen in our Days, will soon find they were not so great. For out of a Desire to leave some Memory of her self in *Greece*, she contriv'd such a Monument, as no Person ever thought of before; appropriating the Tenth of



all her Wealth to purchase a great Number of Iron Spits, strong enough to carry an Ox ; which she sent as an Offering to the Temple of *Delphi* ; where they still remain behind the Altar built by the Chians. From that time the Curtezans of *Naucratis* have been fond of appearing beautiful ; partly, because the Person we mention became so famous, that no Grecian was ignorant of the Name of *Rhodopis* ; and partly on account of *Archidice*, who liv'd after her, and was highly celebrated in *Greece*, tho' not to a Degree equal with the former. As for *Charaxus*, who purchas'd the Liberty of *Rhodopis*, he return'd to *Mitylene*, and was not a little ridicul'd by *Sappho* in an Ode she compos'd against him. But I shall say no more concerning *Rhodopis*.

AFTER the Time of *Mycerinus*, the Priests said, that *Asychis* was King of *Ægypt*, and that he built the most beautiful and magnificent Portico of *Vulcan's* Temple, which fronts to the Rising-Sun : For though the other Porticoes are adorn'd with various Figures of excellent Sculpture, and many curious Pieces of Architecture ; yet this is preferable to all : That *Asychis* finding the Riches of *Ægypt* not to circulate, made a Law, to enable a Man to borrow Money upon the Sepulchre of his Father, with this Addition, that the Debtor should put the Body into the Possession of the Creditor : And that, if he afterwards refus'd to repay the Debt, he should neither be buried in the same Place with his Father, or in any other, nor have the Liberty of burying any Person descended from him ; that this King desiring to outdo all his Predecessors, erected a Pyramid of Brick for his Monument,

ment, with this Inscription, “ Compare me not  
“ to the Pyramids of Stone, which I excel as  
“ much as *Jupiter* surpasses the other Gods. For  
“ striking the Bottom of the Lake with long  
“ Poles, and then collecting the Mire that stuck  
“ to them, Men made Bricks, and form’d me  
“ in that manner.” These were the principal  
Actions of *Asychis*. And after him, the Priests  
inform’d me, that *Anysis* a blind Man, born in  
a City of the same Name, succeeded in the King-  
dom : That during his Reign *Sabacon* King of  
*Æthiopia*, at the Head of a powerful Army, in-  
vaded *Ægypt*, and that the blind Man fled to  
the Fens : That the *Æthiopian* King reign’d  
fifty Years in *Ægypt*, and in all that time put no  
*Ægyptian* to Death for any Crime ; contenting  
himself to command every Delinquent, in Pro-  
portion to his Offence, to carry a certain Quan-  
tity of Earth to the City, of which he was an  
Inhabitant ; and by this means the Situation of  
the *Ægyptian* Cities was much elevated ; for  
those who cut the Canals in the Time of *Sesostris*  
had already brought thither all the Earth they  
took out of those Aquæducts ; but under this  
*Æthiopian* King they were raised much higher ;  
and none more, in my Opinion, than the City  
of *Bubastis*, which has a Temple dedicated to  
*Bubastis*, who is no other than the *Diana* of the  
Grecians. This Temple well deserves mention.  
For tho’ others may be more spacious and mag-  
nificent, yet none can afford more Pleasure to  
the Eye. The Temple is built in a Peninsula,  
no part, except the Entrance, joining to the  
Land ; and almost surrounded by two Canals cut  
from the *Nile*, that beat upon the Flanks of the  
Avenue, without mixing together. Each Ca-  
nal

nal is a hundred Foot broad, shaded with Trees on both Sides. The Portico is ten Fathoms in height, adorn'd with excellent Statues of six Cubits each. This Fabrick stands in the midst of the City, open on all Sides to the publick View; and remaining untouch'd when the rest of the Ground was rais'd by an Addition of Earth, is yet, like a Tower, plainly discover'd from every part about the Place. The Walls are beautified with various Figures wrought in the Stone, and inclose a Grove of lofty Trees, that encompass a Chapel, in which an Image is plac'd. This Temple contains a full Stade in length, and as much in breadth. From the Avenue Eastward lies a Way through the Publick Place, leading to the Temple of *Hermes*, about three Stades in length, and four Plethrons in breadth, all pav'd with Stone, and planted with Trees on each side, that seem to reach the Heavens. And such is the Description of this Temple. Then proceeding to inform me of their Deliverance from the *Æthiopian* King, they said, he fled from *Ægypt* upon a Vision he had in a Dream, representing a Man standing by him, and advising him to assemble all the *Ægyptian* Priests, and to cut them in two by the middle of the Body: That after he had reflected on his Dream, he concluded that the Gods had a Design to lay before him an Occasion of committing an impious Action, to the End he might be punish'd either by themselves or by Men; but rather than be guilty of such a Crime, he would return to his own Country; because the time was then expir'd, which the Oracles had assign'd for the Duration of his Reign in *Ægypt*: For whilst he was yet in *Æthiopia*, he had been admonish'd



monish'd by the Oracles of that Country, that he should govern the *Ægyptians* fifty Years. In Conclusion, *Sabacon* seeing the Term of those Years elaps'd, and being exceedingly disturb'd by the Vision, voluntarily abandon'd *Ægypt*. So that after his Departure the blind King return'd to the Exercise of the Government from the Fens ; where he had continued fifty Years, and had form'd an Island for his Habitation, compos'd of Ashes and Earth. For when any *Ægyptian* went to him by Order with Provisions, he always desir'd him to bring some Ashes thither, without discovering the Secret to the *Æthiopian*. This Island which goes by the Name of *Elbo*, and comprehends ten Stades in length, and the same Measure in breadth, lay undiscover'd more than seven hundred Years, 'till the Reign of *Amyrtaeus* ; and was never found out by any of the Kings his Predecessors. After him succeeded *Sethon*, a Priest of *Vulcan*, who flighting the military Men of *Ægypt* as Persons altogether useless to him, among other Indignities, took away the Lands they possess'd, and which had been assign'd to them by former Kings, being a square of six hundred Cubits to each Man. For this Reason, when *Sanacharib* King of *Arabia* and *Assyria* invaded *Ægypt* with a numerous Army, the military Men refus'd to assist him ; so that the Priest in great Perplexity betook himself to the Temple ; and prostrate before the Image of the God, deplor'd the Calamities impending over his Head. In the midst of these Lamentations he fell asleep, and dream'd he saw the God standing by his side, exhorting him to take Courage, and assuring him, if he would march out against the Arabians, he should

should receive no Hurt ; but on the contrary be effectually succour'd, and aveng'd of his Enemies. In confidence of this Vision, the Priest assembled the Artificers, Traders, and all the Populace, who were willing to follow him, and encamp'd on the Frontier near *Pelusium*, without any of the Military Order in his Army. But the Night after his Arrival, an infinite number of Field-Rats entering the Enemy's Camp, gnaw'd their Quivers, Bows, and the Thongs of their Shields in pieces. So that, finding themselves disarm'd, they were constrain'd to break up the next Morning in Confusion, and sustain'd great Loss in their Flight. For which Cause, a Statue of Stone representing this King, is erected in the Temple of *Vulcan*, with a Rat in one Hand, and these Words issuing from his Mouth ; *Whoever beholds me, let him learn to be Religious.* Thus far the *Ægyptians* and the Priests are the Authors of this Relation, and gave an Account of three hundred forty and one Generations, from their first King to the Reign of *Sethon* Priest of *Vulcan*, and last of these Monarchs ; in which time the Number of High Priests was found equal to that of the Kings. Now, three hundred Generations are ten thousand Years, every three Generations being accounted equivalent to a hundred Years : And the forty one that remain above the three hundred, make one thousand three hundred and forty Years. Thus, they said, in eleven thousand three hundred and forty Years, no God had put on the Form of a Man : Neither had they ever heard of such a thing in *Ægypt*, under their more ancient or later Kings. They said indeed, that in those Days, the Sun had four times alter'd his  
regular

regular Course, having been twice observ'd to rise where he now sets, and to go down twice where he now rises ; yet without producing any Change, either by Land or Water, by Diseases or Mortality.

HAVING given an Account of my Descent to the Priests of *Jupiter* at *Thebes*, I met with almost the same Return, *Hecatæus* the Historian formerly had from them ; when tracing his Genealogy by the Male Line, he deriv'd himself from sixteen Gods. For they conducted me to a spacious Edifice, and shew'd me large Images of Wood, representing all their preceding High Priests ; and pointing to each in Order, as they stood, the Son after the Father, they went thro' the whole Number I mention'd before, repeating their Genealogy in a gradual Descent ; for every High Priest places his Image there during his Life. But when *Hecatæus* in the Account of his Family, came to mention the sixteenth God, they would by no means admit of his Supposition, that a Man could be begotten by a God ; but on the contrary told him, that each of the Images he saw represented a *Piromois* begotten by another *Piromois* ; and that of the whole Number, amounting to three hundred and forty five, no one had been reputed either a God or a Hero ; the Word *Piromois* signifying no more in their Language than an honest and virtuous Man ; which Character all those represented by the Images had, and yet were far inferior to the Gods : That indeed before the time of these Men, the Gods had been the Sovereigns of *Ægypt*, but were not conversant with Mortals ; that one of them always exercis'd the supreme Power, and that the last of those Kings was  
*Orus*



*Orus* the Son of *Osiris*, who dethron'd *Typhon*, and by the Grecians is call'd *Apollo*, as *Osiris* by the same People is nam'd *Bacchus*. The Grecians also think, that *Hercules*, *Bacchus*, and *Pan* are the youngest of all the Gods; but in *Ægypt* *Pan* is esteem'd the most ancient, even of the eight primary Deities: *Hercules* is among those that are second in Antiquity, and go under the Name of the twelve: And *Bacchus* is of the third Order of Gods, who derive their Being from the former. I have already declar'd how many Years the *Ægyptians* account from *Hercules* to the Reign of *Amasis*: But their Computation from *Pan* contains a greater Number, and from *Bacchus* fewer Years than from either, tho' from this God to the Reign of *Amasis* they reckon no less than fifteen thousand Years. The *Ægyptians* say they know these things with Certainty, because they have always computed the Years, and kept an exact Account of time. Now from *Bacchus*, who is said to have been the Son of *Semele* the Daughter of *Cadmus*, to our time, about sixteen hundred Years have pass'd; and from *Hercules* the Son of *Alcmena*, about nine hundred; but from *Pan*, who, as the Grecians say, was the Son of *Mercury* by *Penelope*, not more than eight hundred; which is a less Number of Years than they account from the Siege of *Troy*. Let every Man embrace the Opinion he judges most probable; as I have declar'd my own touching these things. For if *Bacchus* the Son of *Semele*, and *Pan* the Son of *Penelope*, had liv'd famous and grown old in *Greece*, like *Hercules* the Son of *Amphitryon*, some might have said, that these Men obtain'd the Names of those ancient Gods. But, because the Gre-

cians report that *Jupiter* receiv'd *Bacchus* as soon as he was born ; and having sew'd him in to his Thigh, carried him to *Niffa* in *Æthiopia* beyond *Ægypt* ; and because they have nothing at all to say touching the Place of *Pan's* Education, I am fully convinc'd, that the Grecians had not heard of these, 'till they were made acquainted with the Names of the other Gods, and therefore they ascribe their Generation to that time, and not higher. Thus having reported the Traditions peculiar to the *Ægyptians*, I shall now relate such things as other Nations, no less than they, acknowledge to have been done in *Ægypt*, and shall add some Particulars, of which I was an Eye-Witness.

THE *Ægyptians* were free, upon the Death of their King, the Priest of *Vulcan* ; but having never been capable of living without a kingly Government, they divided *Ægypt* into twelve Parts, and constituted a King over each Division. These twelve Kings contracted Alliances by mutual Marriages, and reciprocally oblig'd themselves to continue in perpetual Amity without invading the Territories of each other, or endeavouring to enlarge their own. Which Contract they contriv'd in such obligatory Terms, because they had been admonish'd by an Oracle, when they assum'd the Government, that whoever among them should offer a Libation in the Temple of *Vulcan* out of a Bowl of Brass, should be sole King of *Ægypt* ; for they us'd to assemble in all the Temples indifferently. But being desirous to leave a publick Monument of their Reign at the common Charge, they built a Labyrinth near the City of *Crocodiles*, a little above the Lake of *Mæris*, which I saw, and found far surpassing

surpassing the Report of Fame. For if any Man will impartially consider the Buildings and Monuments of the Grecians, he will plainly see upon Comparison, that this Labyrinth is a Work of more Labour and greater Expence ; tho' I confess the Temples of *Ephesus* and *Samos* deserve a peculiar Regard. The Pyramids are beyond Expression magnificent, and singly comparable to many of the greatest Structures in *Greece* consider'd together. And yet the Labyrinth is more admirable than the Pyramids. For this Building contains twelve vaulted Halls, with so many opposite Doors ; six opening to the North, and six to the South ; all encompass'd by the same Wall. Fifteen hundred Chambers are comprehended within the upper part of this Edifice, and an equal Number under Ground. I view'd every Room of the upper part, and only report what I saw. But of the subterraneous part I can say nothing, except upon the Credit of other Men ; for the *Ægyptians* who kept the Place would by no means permit me to go in ; because, said they, the Sepulchres of the holy Crocodiles, and of those Kings that built the Labyrinth are there. I am therefore confin'd only to report the things I heard concerning the subterraneous Buildings. But the upper Part, which I carefully view'd, seems to surpass the Art of Men : So many Egressions by various Passages, and infinite Returns, afforded me a thousand Occasions of Wonder, as I pass'd from a spacious Hall to a Chamber ; from thence to a private Cabinet ; then again into other Passages out of the Cabinets, and out of the Chambers into the more spacious Rooms. All the Roofs and Walls within are incrusted with  
Marble ;



Marble ; but the Walls are farther adorn'd with Figures of Sculpture. The Halls are surrounded with Pillars of white Stone finely polish'd. And at the Angle where the Labyrinth ends, a Pyramid is erected, forty Fathom in Height, with Figures of the largest Animals in Sculpture, and a subterraneous Way leading into it. Nevertheless, tho' this Labyrinth be such as I have describ'd ; yet the Lake of *Moeris*, by which that Monument stands, is more wonderful ; containing the full Measure of three thousand and six hundred Stades, or sixty Schœnes in Circumference ; which is equal to the Length of all the Sea-Coast of *Ægypt*. The Figure of this Lake is Oblong, stretching to the North and South ; and in the deepest Parts has fifty Fathom of Water. But the two Pyramids built about the Middle of the Lake, which raise their Heads fifty Fathom above the Surface of the Water, and conceal as many underneath, shew undeniably that this Work was perform'd by the Hands of Men. On each of these a Statue of Marble is plac'd, seated in a Throne ; by which Account, the Pyramids are one hundred Fathom in Height ; and one hundred Fathom make up just a Stade of six Plethrons. The Fathom is a Measure containing six Foot, or four Cubits : The Foot comprehends four Palms, and the Cubit six. This Lake is not fed by Springs ; for all those Parts are excessively dry ; but by Waters deriv'd thro' Channels cut from the *Nile*, which flow into the Lake six Months of the Year, and return to the River the other six. During all the six Months of the Rivers Retreat, the Fishery yields a Talent of Silver every Day to the King's Treasury ; and the rest of the

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Time,

Time, twenty Mines only. The Inhabitants assur'd me that this Lake runs under the Earth as far as the Sands of *Libya*, leaning always to the Westward, by the Way of the midland Country, and the Mountains of *Memphis*. But being much concern'd not to see the Earth that was taken out of these Works, I desir'd the neighbouring People to explain the Matter; who informing me that all that Earth had been carried away, I easily gave them Credit, because I had heard that the like had been done at the City of *Ninus* in *Assyria*. For when certain Thieves had form'd a Design to steal the vast Treasures of *Sardanapalus* King of *Ninus*, which were preserv'd in subterraneous Vaults, they carried on a Mine from their own Habitations to the Palace, and every Night throwing the Earth they had taken out into the River *Tigris*, which passes by the City, they at last effected their Design. The same Method was taken in *Ægypt*, with this Exception only, that they wrought here by Day and not in the Night. For they inform'd me, that all the Earth they dug, was carried by the *Ægyptians* to the *Nile*, and dispers'd by the Current of that River. And in this Manner the Lake of *Mæris* is reported to have been made.

THE twelve Kings continued strictly to observe the Contract they had made; when meeting all together at a stated Time to sacrifice in the Temple of *Vulcan*, and being about to offer a Libation on the last Day of the Solemnity, the high Priest by Mistake brought no more than eleven of the twelve golden Bowls, which were reserv'd for these Occasions. So that to supply the Deficiency, *Psammetichus*, who stood last in Order,

Order, took off his Helmet of Brass, and holding it in his Hand, perform'd the Ceremony of Libation with the rest. All the other Kings had the same kind of Helmet, and wore them at that Time; neither had *Psammetichus* any ill Intention. But they considering the Action, and recollecting the Prediction of the Oracle, “ That he who should offer a Libation out of a “ Bowl of Brass, should be sole King of *Ægypt*; tho’ they would not put him to Death, because upon Examination they found him free from any Evil Design, nevertheless unanimously agreed to develt him of the greatest Part of his Territories, and to banish him into the Fens, with a strict Prohibition not to remove, or intermeddle in the Affairs of any other Part of *Ægypt*. Long before this Event *Psammetichus* had been forc’d to fly into *Syria*, to escape the Fury of *Sabbacon* King of *Æthiopia*, who had kill’d his Father *Nechos*; and to continue in Exile, ’till he was recall’d by the Inhabitants of *Sais*, after the *Æthiopian* had been induc’d by the Terror of a Dream to abandon *Ægypt*. Then reigning in Conjunction with the eleven Kings, he was again constrain’d to withdraw into the Fens, for using his Helmet at the Libation. But not being able to digest this Indignity, and studying how to revenge himself against his Persecutors; he sent to the Oracle of *Latona* in the City of *Butus*, which is accounted the most infalible in *Ægypt*, and receiv’d for Answer, “ That he should be re- “ veng’d by Men of Brass suddenly rising out “ of the Sea. This Oracle plung’d him into the deepest Incredulity; not comprehending the possibility of receiving Succour from Men of



Brass. But not long after, some Ionian and Carian Pirates driven by Necessity to go ashore in *Ægypt*, landed in Armour of Brass. Upon which an *Ægyptian*, who had never before seen Men arm'd in that Manner, went to the Fens, and acquainted *Psammetichus*, that certain Men of Brass had risen out of the Sea, and were ravaging all the Lands adjacent to the Shore. He, no longer doubting the Accomplishment of the Prediction, made an Alliance with these Ionians and Carians, and having by Promises of ample Gratifications persuaded them to stay, did, with their Assistance and the Help of such *Ægyptians* as were well affected to him, subdue and dethrone all the other Kings.

Thus being in Possession of all *Ægypt*, he added a Portico to *Vulcan's* Temple at *Memphis*, facing the South; and in the Front of this Portico, built another spacious Edifice, adorn'd with various Figures of Sculpture, and surrounded with Collofs's twelve Cubits high, in the Place of Pillars, design'd for the Habitation of *Apis*, by the Grecians nam'd *Epa-phus*, when he should be found. He rewarded the Ionians and Carians who had assisted him, with Lands situate on each side of the *Nile*, and separated by that River; calling those Habitations, the Camp. And besides these Lands he gave them whatever he had promis'd before the Expedition; and put divers *Ægyptian* Children under their Care, to be instructed in the Knowledge of the Grecian Language. So that those who now perform the Office of Interpreters in *Ægypt*, are descended from this Colony. The Ionians and Carians continued for a long Time to inhabit those Parts; which

which lye near the Sea, below the City of *Bubastis*, in the Pelusian Mouth of the River *Nile*: 'Till in succeeding Time, *Amasis* King of *Ægypt* caus'd them to abandon their Habitations, and settle at *Memphis*, to defend him against the *Ægyptians*. But from the Time of their first Establishment, they had so constant a Communication with the Grecians, that one may justly say, we certainly know all things that pass'd in *Ægypt* since the Reign of *Psammetichus* to our Age. They were the first People of a different Language, who settled in *Ægypt*; and the Ruins of their Buildings, together with the Remains of the Stations and Arsenals they had for Shipping, are seen to this Day, evidently discovering the Place where they first inhabited. And in this Manner *Psammetichus* became Master of all *Ægypt*.

CONCERNING this Oracle, I have already related divers particulars; and shall now farther enlarge on the same Subject; as a thing that deserves a singular Regard. The Temple is dedicated to *Latona*, and built in the great City of *Butus*, as I mention'd before, beyond the Sebenytic Mouth of the *Nile*, as Men navigate from the Sea up that River. *Apollo* and *Diana* have also Temples in the same City; and that of *Latona*, which contains the Oracle, is a magnificent Structure adorn'd with a Portico sixty Foot high. But of all the things I saw there, nothing seem'd so astonishing to me, as a quadrangular Chapel in this Temple, cut out of one single Stone, and containing a Square of forty Cubits on every side, intirely cover'd with a Roof of one Stone likewise, having a Border four Cubits thick. This Chapel I confess appear'd to me the most

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prodigious

prodigious thing I saw in that Place ; the next to this, the Island of *Chemmis*, situate in a broad and deep Lake near the Temple of *Butus*. The *Ægyptians* say this is a floating Island ; but I could not see it either float or move, and wonder'd to hear them affirming so strange a thing. The Island of *Chemmis* contains a spacious Temple dedicated to *Apollo*, and three Altars ; with great Numbers of Palms, and other Trees, as well of such as produce Fruit, as of those that serve for Shade and Ornament. The Opinion of the *Ægyptians* touching this Island is founded on the following Tradition. They say that *Latona*, one of the eight Primary Deities, residing in *Butus*, where her Oracle now is, receiv'd *Apollo* from the Hands of *Isis*, and preserv'd his Life by concealing him in this, which is now call'd the floating Island, when *Typhon* arriving in those Parts, us'd all possible Diligence to find out the Son of *Osiris*. For they say that *Apollo* and *Diana* are the Offspring of *Dionysius* and *Isis* ; and that *Latona* was their Nurse and Preserver ; calling *Apollo* and *Ceres* by the Names of *Orus* and *Isis* ; and *Diana* by that of *Bubastis*. Now from this Account and no other, *Æschylus* the Son of *Euphorion* took his Information, when he alone of all the former Poets introduc'd *Diana* as the Daughter of *Ceres*, and said that the Island was made to float on this Occasion. These things are thus reported.

*PSAMMETICHUS* reign'd in *Ægypt* fifty four Years ; nine and twenty of which he spent at the Siege of *Azotus* in *Syria*, before he could reduce that great City, which of all others we know, held out the longest Time. His Son *Necus* succeeded



succeeded him, and began a Canal of Communication between the *Nile* and the *Red Sea*, which *Darius* the Persian afterwards finish'd. Two Gallies may advance abreast, and perform the whole Voyage in four Days. This Canal begins at the *Nile* a little above *Bubastis*, and passing by *Patumon* a City of *Arabia*, flows into the *Red Sea*. 'Tis cut thro' the Plains of *Ægypt*, that lye towards *Arabia*; because the Mountains of *Memphis*, which contain the Quarries of Stone, are situate beyond this Level. And therefore this great Canal is carried along the Foot of those Hills from the West to the Eastward, and then turn'd thro' the Chops of the Mountains towards the South into the Arabian Gulph. But the shortest and most compendious Passage from the Northern Sea to the Southern, or *Red Sea*, is by Mount *Casius*, which separates *Ægypt* from *Syria*. For this Mountain is not above a thousand Stades distant from the Gulph of *Arabia*. So that this is the shorter Way, the other being render'd more tedious by the frequent Turnings of the Canal. One hundred and twenty thousand *Ægyptians* employ'd in this Labour, perish'd under the Reign of *Necus*; and when the Work was half done, the Oracle admonish'd him to desist, and leave the Canal to be finish'd by a Barbarian; for that Name is given by the *Ægyptians* to all those who are of another Language. Thus *Necus* abandoning his Design, turn'd his Thoughts to Military Affairs, and built a Fleet of Gallies on the Northern Sea, and another in the Arabian Gulph, at the Mouth of the *Red Sea*, as appears by the Ruins of his Arsenals and Havens remaining to this Day. These Fleets he us'd upon Occasion; and

was no less formidable by Land. For he fought a Battle against the Syrians in the Plains of *Magdolis*; and after he had obtain'd the Victory, took the great City of *Cadytis*. The Garments he wore in these Actions, he consecrated to *Apollo*, and sent them to *Branchis* in the Territories of the Milesians. He reign'd sixteen Years; and at his Death left the Kingdom to his Son *Psammis*.

DURING the Reign of this King, Ambassadors from *Elis* arriv'd in *Ægypt*, boasting that they had out-done all Mankind, in establishing the Olympian Exercises under the most just and excellent Regulations, and did not think that the *Ægyptians*, tho' they were the wisest People of the World, could make any Addition to their Institution. Being arriv'd, and having acquainted the King with the Cause of their Ambassy, he summon'd an Assembly of such Persons as were esteem'd the wisest among the *Ægyptians*: Who when they had heard all that the *Eleans* had to say concerning the Olympian Exercises, and the Cause of their coming, which they said was to inquire whether the *Ægyptians* could invent any thing more equitable; ask'd the Ambassadors, if the Citizens of *Elis* were permitted to enter the Lists: And the *Eleans* answering that they and all other Grecians were equally admitted; the *Ægyptians* replied, that in so doing they had totally deviated from the Rules of Justice; No Consideration being sufficient to restrain Men from favouring those of their own Country to the Prejudice of Strangers. But if they were sincerely desirous to act justly, and had undertaken this Voyage into *Ægypt* with that Intention,

tion, they ought to exclude all the Eleans, and admit only Strangers to be the Opponents. This Admonition the Eleans received from the Ægyptians.

PSAMMIS reign'd only six Years ; and having undertaken an Expedition against the Æthiopians, died soon after, and left the Kingdom to his Son *Apries*. This King liv'd twenty five Years in greater Prosperity than any of his Predecessors, except his Grandfather *Psammetichus*. In which Time he invaded *Sidon* with an Army, and engag'd the Tyrians in a Sea-fight. But being destinated to Ruin, his Misfortunes began upon an Occasion, which I shall briefly mention in this Place, and more largely explain, when I speak of the Libyan Affairs. *Apries* having sent a numerous Army against the Cyrenæans, and receiving a very great Defeat, the Ægyptians revolted ; suspecting he had designedly contriv'd the Slaughter of those Forces, that after their Destruction he might govern the rest with a more absolute Authority ; which they so highly resented, that not only those who returned from that Expedition, but all the Friends of those that had perish'd, openly revolted against him. When *Apries* heard of this Defection, he dispatch'd *Amasis* to pacify them with kind Expressions. But as he was beginning to reprove the Ægyptians, and to dissuade them from their Enterprize, a certain Ægyptian who stood behind *Amasis*, put a Helmet upon his Head, and saluted him King of Ægypt. Which was not done without the Participation of *Amasis*, as the Event shew'd. For he was no sooner declar'd King, than he prepar'd to lead an Army against *Apries* ; Who  
being.



being inform'd of all that had pass'd, sent *Patarbemis*, one of the most considerable Persons among the *Ægyptians* that adher'd to him, with Orders to bring *Amasis* alive into his Presence. *Patarbemis* arriving in the Camp, call'd to *Amasis*; but he, as he sat on Horseback, lifting up his Thigh and breaking Wind, bid him carry that to *Apries*. In the End, when *Patarbemis* requir'd him to go to the King, he answer'd, that he had been long preparing to visit him; and that he might give him no Cause of Complaint, he would not only appear himself, but would bring some Company with him. *Patarbemis* perceiving the Design of *Amasis* by the Words he had heard, and the Preparations he saw, thought himself obliged to inform the King of these things with all Expedition: And coming into his Presence without *Amasis*, *Apries*, said not one Word to him; but in a sudden Transport of Passion commanded his Ears and Nose to be cut off. The rest of the *Ægyptians*, who to that Time had continued faithful to *Apries*, seeing a Person of universal Esteem treated in so unworthy a Manner, went immediately over to those who had revolted, and offer'd themselves to *Amasis*; which when *Apries* hear'd, he drew out his Auxiliary Forces, consisting of *Carians* and *Ionians*, to the Number of thirty thousand; and marching from *Sais*, where he had a beautiful and magnificent Palace, led his Troops against the *Ægyptians*; whilst *Amasis* led the Army he commanded against the Foreigners. They met in the Fields of *Memphis*, and prepar'd themselves on both sides for a Battle.

THE Ægyptians are distinguish'd into seven Orders of Men; Priests, Soldiers, Herdsmen, Hogherds, Traders, Interpreters, and Pilots, who take the Names from the Professions they exercise. The Military Men are call'd either Calasirians, or Hermotybian, according to the Districts they inhabit. For all Ægypt is divided into Districts or Jurisdictions. The Hermotybian are of the District of *Basiris*, *Sais*, *Chemmis*, *Papremis*, and one half of the Island *Prosopis*, which is call'd *Natbo*. From these Districts a hundred and sixty thousand Hermotybian may be drawn, when they are most numerous. None of these ever learn any Mechanick Art, but apply themselves wholly to Military Affairs. The Calasirians are of the Jurisdictions of *Thebes*, *Bubastis*, *Aptbis*, *Tanis*, *Mendes*, *Sebennytus*, *Athribis*, *Pharbæthis*, *Thmuis*, *Onyphis*, *Anysis*, and of *Mycephoris*, which is situated in an Island over against *Bubastis*. These Districts of the Calasirians may furnish two hundred and fifty thousand Men at most; who being likewise restrain'd from exercising any Mechanick Profession, are oblig'd to apply themselves from Father to Son, to the Art of War only. I cannot affirm that the Grecians receiv'd this Custom from the Ægyptians; especially considering that the Thracians, Scythians, Persians, Lydians, and almost all barbarous Nations have little Regard to those who profess any Mechanick Art; judging such as abstain from those Employments, and particularly Military Men, to be of a more generous Spirit. Yet all the Grecians have entertain'd the same Maxim, and principally the Lacedæmonians; tho' the Mechanick Arts are not accounted altogether

gether so dishonourable among the Corinthians. The Lands conferr'd upon the Militia are exempted from all publick Tributes as well as those of the Priesthood. Twelve Acres are assign'd to each Man, every Acre containing a Square of one hundred Ægyptian Cubits, which are equal to so many Cubits of *Samos*. They all enjoy these Advantages, but are admitted to other Profits by Turns. For a thousand Calasirians, and as many Hermotybianes serve the King annually for a Guard, and, besides the Revenue of their Lands, receive a daily Allowance, consisting of five Pounds of Bread, and two of Beef, with four Draughts of Wine to each Man.

BOTH Armies being advanc'd to *Memphis*; *Apries* at the Head of his Auxiliaries, and *Amasis* with all the Ægyptians, they fought a Battle: in which the Foreigners behav'd themselves with great Courage: But being oppress'd with Numbers, were entirely defeated. 'Tis reported that *Apries* fondly thought he had so well establish'd his Authority, that the Power of a God would not prove sufficient to dispossess him of the Kingdom; and yet he was beaten, taken Prisoner, and confin'd to the Palace of *Sais*, formerly his own, and now belonging to *Amasis*; where he was kept for some Time, and treated with great Humanity. But the People murmuring at the Lenity of *Amasis* to a common Enemy, as injurious to himself and the whole Nation, he was constrain'd to deliver *Apries* into the Hands of the Ægyptians; who strangled him, and laid his Body in the Sepulchre of his Ancestors, erected in the Temple of *Minerva* adjoyning to the Palace, on the Left-hand of the Entrance.



trance. For the Inhabitants of *Sais* have always buried the Kings that were of their Province in this Temple. But the Monument of *Amasis* is plac'd at a greater Distance from the Palace than that of *Apries* and his Progenitors. In the Court of this Temple stands a magnificent Structure, adorn'd with Columns of Stone cut to extraordinary Dimensions, and resembling Palm-Trees in Figure; together with many other Ornaments; and within that Edifice are two Doors between which a funeral Monument is plac'd. Behind the same Temple of *Minerva* at *Sais*, certain Sepulchres are built by the back Wall. For a Memorial of things not to be nam'd by me. Vast Obelisks stand erected on the consecrated Ground, near a Lake of orbicular Form, lin'd with Stone, and in my Opinion equal to that of *Delos*, which from the Roundness of its Figure is call'd *Trochoeides*. In this Lake the *Ægyptians* form the Ideas of their nocturnal Passions, which they call Mysteries. But for the Sake of Decency, I shall not explain these things, tho' the far greater Part are well known to me. Neither shall I utter one Word more than is permitted, touching the sacred Rites of *Ceres*, which in *Greece* are call'd *Thesmophorian*. The Daughters of *Danaus* brought these Ceremonies from *Ægypt*, and instructed the *Pelasgian* Women in the Use of them. But upon the Expulsion of the *Peloponnesians*, these Rites were almost abolish'd; except among the *Arcadians*, who were not ejected by the *Dorians*.

AFTER the Death of *Apries*, the Kingdom continued in the Hands of *Amasis*, who was born in the City of *Sinph*, in the Province of *Sais*.

The Ægyptians shew'd little Respect to him in the Beginning of his Reign; but rather despis'd him as a Person of inferiour Rank, and not descended of an illustrious Family, but he soon acquir'd their Esteem by his Art and Dexterity. For among other infinite Treasures, he had a Basen of Gold, in which he and all those who were admitted to eat at his Table, were accustom'd to wash their Feet. This Basen he caus'd to be melted down, and formed into the Statue of a God; which having plac'd in the most frequented Part of the City, the Ægyptians with great Reverence paid their Devotions to the Image. In the mean Time *Amasis*, inform'd of their Behaviour, calls a general Assembly, and acquaints the Ægyptians, that the Image they now worship'd so devoutly, was made out of the Bowl, in which they had so often piss'd, vomited, and wash'd their Feet; and that his Condition was not unlike that of the Image: For tho' he had been formerly an ordinary Person, yet being now their King, he requir'd them to honour and obey him: And by this Means he perswaded the Ægyptians to think themselves oblig'd in Duty to pay him all that Respect and Submission which is due to a King. His usual Manner was to employ all the Hours of the Morning in an assiduous application to the Publick Affairs, and afterwards to divert himself in Company, drinking with his Companions, and frequently descending even to play the Part of a Buffoon. But his Friends offended at his Conduct, admonish'd him, that these Actions tended to render him contemptible. "For, said they, he who  
 " sits on a Throne ought to pass the wholly Day  
 " in

“ in the Administration of publick Business ; that  
“ the Ægyptians may know they are govern’d  
“ by a great King, and speak honourably of  
“ his Person. Whereas your Conduct is alto-  
“ gether unbecoming the Royal Dignity. *Amasis*  
in Answer, said, “ That an Archer, when he  
“ is about to shoot, braces his Bow ; but af-  
“ ter he has shot, loosens the String ; because,  
“ a Bow that should always continue bent,  
“ would either break or be render’d useless  
“ in Time of need : And that this might rea-  
“ sonably be applied to Men : For if a Man  
“ should incessantly attend to serious Studies,  
“ and refuse to spend any Part of his Time  
“ in ludicrous Recreations, either Madness or  
“ Stupidity would steal upon him : Of which  
“ Truth being perfectly convinc’d, he had  
“ contriv’d to divide the Time between Busi-  
“ ness and Diversion. And indeed the Ægyp-  
tians say that *Amasis*, while he was a private  
Person, lov’d to drink, and divert himself with  
Jesting and Raillery ; and was so far from be-  
ing a Man of Diligence and industry, that he  
betook himself to stealing, when he could no o-  
therwise supply the Expences of his Luxury :  
For which being frequently accus’d by those he  
had robb’d, and always denying the Fact, he was  
often carried to the Oracle of the Place, where  
he was many Times convicted, and as often  
acquitted. But after his Accession to the  
Throne, he slighted the Temples of all those  
Gods, who had acquitted him ; and abstaining  
from their Sacrifices, would never bestow any  
Donation upon them ; well knowing they de-  
serv’d no regard, by the Experience he had of  
the Falshood of their Oracles. Whereas on the

4 contrary,



contrary, persuaded of the Veracity of those Gods, who had declar'd him a Thief, he paid a singular Reverence to their Temples. He built that admirable Portico which stands before the Temple of *Minerva* in *Sais*, far surpassing all others in Circumference and Elevation, as well as in the Dimensions of the Stones; and adorn'd the Building with Colossian Statues, and the monstrous Figures of *Androsphyn- ges*. One Part of the Stones employ'd in this Work, were cut in the Quarries of *Memphis*; but those of the greatest Magnitude were convey'd by Water from the City of *Elephantis*, distant from *Sais* as far as a Vessel can make in twenty Days. But that which I beheld with greatest Admiration was a House he brought from *Elephantis*, made of one Stone. Two thousand Men, all Pilots, were employ'd during three whole Years in the Transportation of this House; which has in Front twenty one Cubits, in Depth fourteen, and eight in Height. And this is the Measure of the Outside. The Inside is eighteen Cubits and upwards in Length, twelve in Depth, and five Cubits in Height. This wonderful Edifice is plac'd by the Entrance of the Temple; some say, because the Architect regretting the Time he had spent in so tedious a Labour, fetch'd a deep Sigh as he was moving the Machine towards its Station; which *Amasis* resenting would not suffer him to proceed. But others affirm, that one of the Men who guided the Rowers, was crush'd to pieces in the Way to the Temple, and on that Account they advanc'd no farther. Among the many magnificent Donations which *Amasis* presented in the most famous Temples, he caus'd a Colossus, lying with  
the

the Face upwards, seventy five Foot in Length, to be plac'd before the Temple of *Vulcan* at *Memphis*: And on the same Basis erected two Statues of twenty Foot each, wrought out of the same Stone, and standing on each side of the great Colossus. Like this, another is seen in *Sais*, lying in the same Posture; cut in Stone, and of equal Dimensions. He likewise built the great Temple of *Isis* in City of *Memphis*, which well deserves to be admired.

UNDER the Reign of *Amasis Ægypt* was exceedingly happy in all the Conveniences deriv'd from the River to the Country, or from the Country to Men, and contain'd twenty thousand populous Cities. He establish'd a Law, commanding that every *Ægyptian* should annually declare before the Governour of the Province, by what Means he maintain'd himself; and if he omitted to go, or gave not a satisfactory Account of his Way of Living, he should be punish'd with Death. This Law *Solon* the Athenian brought from *Ægypt*, and introduc'd into *Athens*; where 'tis inviolably observ'd as a most equitable Constitution. *Amasis* was a Lover of the Grecians, and, besides the Favours he conferr'd upon particular Persons and Cities, he permitted as many as would come into *Ægypt*, to inhabit the City of *Naucratis*; and granted that those who would not settle there, but chose rather to attend their Commerce by Sea, might erect Altars and Temples to the Gods in certain Places assign'd to that End. The greatest, noblest, and most frequented of these Temples is that which is generally known by the Name of the *Grecian Temple*, built at the common Expence of the Ionian Cities of

*Chio, Teos, Phocæa, and Clazomene*; in Conjunction with the Dorian Communities of *Rhodes, Cnidus, Halicarnassus, Phaselis*; and the City of *Mitylene* only of the *Æolians*. So that these Places alone have a Title to this Temple, and to appoint the Governours of Commerce: And all other Communities that participate of those Privileges, are only admitted upon Favour. For the People of *Ægina* built a Temple to *Jupiter* at their own Charge; the Samians one to *Juno*, and the Milesians another to *Apollo*. The City of *Naucratis* was anciently the only Place of Resort for Merchants in all *Ægypt*: And if a Vessel put into any other Harbour of the *Nile*, the Proprietor was oblig'd to swear he arriv'd unwillingly, and would depart in the same Ship by the first Opportunity; and that if contrary Winds should prevent him from reaching the Port of *Canopus*, he would unload his Goods, and carry them in Boats round the *Delta* to *Naucratis*. So great were the Privileges of that City.

WHEN the Amphyctions agreed to pay three hundred Talents for rebuilding the Temple of *Delphi*, which had been burnt by an unknown Accident, and charg'd a fourth Part of that Sum upon the Inhabitants of the Place, the Delphians went about, desiring Assistance of divers Cities, and brought Home no small Contributions from *Ægypt*. For they receiv'd a thousand Talents of *Alom* from *Amasis*, and the Value of twenty Mines from the Grecians who were settled in his Kingdom. *Amasis* made also an Alliance of mutual Amity and Defence, with the Cyrenæans; and resolving to take a Wife of that Country; either out of a Desire  
of



of having a Grecian Woman, or from a peculiar Affection to that People, he married *Ladice*, the Daughter, as some say, of *Battus*, others, of *Arcefilaus*; tho' a third sort pretend she was the Daughter of *Critobulus*, a Person of great Authority among the Cyrenæans. But not being able to use her as his Wife after Marriage, and yet finding no Impediment with Respect to other Women, he at length told her she had enchanted him, and that no Artifice should be sufficient to deliver so wicked a Woman out of his Hands. *Ladice* denied the Fact, and endeavour'd to pacify him : But when nothing would prevail, she sigh'd out a mental Prayer to *Venus*; and vow'd, if *Amasis* should be enabled to do the Part of a Husband that Night (which was the only Remedy left) she would send a Statue of the Goddess to be erected in *Cyrene*. No sooner had she made this Vow than *Amasis* found himself like other Men, and continued to use *Ladice* as his Wife with all possible Tenderness and Affection. On the other Hand *Ladice* not unmindful of her Promise to the Goddess, sent the Statue she had vow'd, which stands intire to this Day without the Gates of *Cyrene*. And when *Cambyfes* had conquer'd *Ægypt*, and receiv'd an Account of this Person, he preserv'd her from all injurious Usage, and caus'd her to be conducted in Safety to her own Country. *Amasis* sent several consecrated Donations to *Greece*. He presented a gilded Statue of *Minerva* to the City of *Cyrene*; with his own Picture drawn after the Life : To *Lindus* he gave two Statues of Stone representing the same Goddess, together with a linen Pectoral of admirable Workmanship : And sent two Images of himself carv'd

in Wood to the City *Samos*; where to this Day they are seen standing in the great Temple of *Juno* behind the Gates. *Amasis* made this Donation to *Samos*, on Account of the mutual Obligations of Hospitality, contracted between him and *Polycrates* the Son of *Æaces*: And the other to *Lindus*, without any Engagement of that Nature. But because the Daughters of *Danaus* are reported to have founded the Temple of *Minerva* in that City, when they fled thither from the Sons of *Ægyptus*. And these were the Donations of *Amasis*. He was the first, who conquer'd *Cyprus*, and constrain'd the *Cyprians* to pay him Tribute.

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T H E

# History of *Herodotus*.

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B O O K III.

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## *THALIA.*

**A** G A I N S T this *Amasis*, *Cambyfes* the Son of *Cyrus* assembled an Army, consisting of his own Subjects, and the Grecian Forces of the Ionians and *Æolians*. The Cause of the War was this. *Cambyfes* sent a Herald into *Ægypt* to demand the Daughter of *Amasis*: To which he was persuaded by an *Ægyptian* Physician dissatisfied with the King because he had separated him from his Wife and Children, and compell'd him to go to *Persia* rather than any other, when *Cyrus* by a Message desir'd *Amasis* to send him the best Physician for the Eyes that could be found in *Ægypt*. The angry *Ægyptian* incessantly endeavour'd to induce *Cambyfes* to make this Demand, to the End that *Amasis*, if he should comply, might be mortified with the Loss of his Daughter, or irritate the King of *Persia* by his Refusal. Under these Difficulties *Amasis* could not easily determine what Resolution to take: For he dreaded the Persian Power; and knew *Cambyfes* demanded his Daughter, not to make her his Wife, but his Concubine. At last he resolv'd



solv'd upon this Expedient. His Predecessor *Apries* had left an only Daughter, tall and beautiful, whose Name was *Nitetis*. This Virgin *Amasis* furnish'd with all Manner of magnificent Apparel, and sent her to *Persia* for his own Daughter: Where some Time after her Arrival, when *Cambyfes* visiting her in a familiar Manner call'd her the Daughter of *Amasis*, she said, " O King, Thou hast been deceived by *Amasis*, who sent me hither with all those Ornaments in the Place of his Daughter: " Whereas indeed I am the Daughter of *Apries* " his Master whom he put to Death, after he " had revolted with the rest of the *Ægyptians*. These Words fill'd *Cambyfes* the Son of *Cyrus* with Indignation, and determin'd him to make War against *Ægypt*. Thus the Persians report the Matter. But the *Ægyptians* claim a Relation to *Cambyfes* by Blood, and pretend that he was the Son of this *Nitetis*; and that *Cyrus*, not *Cambyfes*, was the Person who sent for the Daughter of *Amasis*. Nevertheless this Account is groundless and disingenuous. For if any People of the World are well inform'd of the Persian Customs, the *Ægyptians* certainly are; and therefore could neither be ignorant that a Son of the half Blood is never admitted to be King of *Persia*, when a legitimate Heir is apparent; nor that *Cambyfes* was the Son of *Cassandana* Daughter to *Pharnaspes* of the Race of *Achæmenes*; and not of an *Ægyptian* Woman. But they have deliberately perverted the Truth, that they might have some Colour to pretend a Relation to the Family of *Cyrus*. Another Story they have contriv'd, which I think no less incredible than the former. They say that a Persian

Persian Lady being admitted to the presence of the King's Women, and seeing the Children of *Cassandana* beautiful and well proportion'd, could not refrain from admiring her Happiness ; but *Cassandana* answer'd, that tho' she was Wife to *Cyrus*, and Mother to these Children, yet he slighted her, and preferr'd an *Ægyptian* Servant, meaning the hated *Nitetis*, before her : Upon which *Cambyfes*, the eldest of her Sons said, " Mother when I am a Man, I will " on your Account turn all *Ægypt* upside down : That this Discourse of *Cambyfes*, who had not then attain'd to more than ten Years of Age, struck all the Women present with Admiration ; and that he kept his Revenge in Memory till he grew up ; and when he was possess'd of the Kingdom, made War against *Ægypt*. Another Motive that concurr'd to induce him to undertake this Expedition, was the Arrival of *Phanes*, by Descent a Grecian of *Halicarnassus*. He had been one of the Auxiliaries of *Amasis*, prudent in Council, and valiant in Action. This Man dissatisfied with *Amasis*, on I know not what Occasion, departed by Sea from *Ægypt*, with a Design to confer with *Cambyfes*. But *Amasis*, who knew him to be a Man of Credit among the Auxiliaries, and well acquainted with the *Ægyptian* Affairs, resolv'd to pursue him with all Diligence : And to that End sent one of the most trusty among his Eunuchs with a Galley, who surpriz'd him in *Lycia* ; but did not bring him back to *Ægypt*, because he was overreach'd by his Prisoner. For *Phanes* made his Guard drunk, and by that Means escaping into *Persia*, arriv'd at the Time when *Cambyfes* was preparing all things for his Expedition

dition to *Ægypt*, and much perplex'd how he should pass the Desarts that were destitute of Water. He discover'd many important Affairs of *Amasis* to the King of *Persia*, and advis'd him to desire the King of *Arabia* by a Message to grant him a safe Passage thro' his Territories ; as the only Way into *Ægypt* easy of Access. For whatever is situate between *Phœnicia* and the Borders of *Cadytis*, which belongs to the Syrians of *Palæstine*, and in my Opinion is little inferior to *Sardis* ; together with all the trading Places on the Coast to the City of *Jenyfus*, is part of the Arabian Territories. And so is the whole Tract of Land that lies extended from *Jenyfus*, which belongs to the Syrians, to the Lake of *Serbonis*, where Mount *Casius* stretches towards the Sea. But from the Lake of *Serbonis*, in which *Typhon* is reported to have conceal'd himself, the Country belongs to *Ægypt*. And all that Space which lies between the City of *Jenyfus*, Mount *Casius* and the Lake, being no less than three Days March, is utterly destitute of Water. But in this Place I shall mention a thing which has not been observ'd by many who have pass'd by Sea into *Ægypt*. Twice every Year the Grecians and Phœnicians transport thither certain Earthen Vessels fill'd with Wine ; and yet not one of these is ever to be found empty. Now if any Man ask how this comes to pass, I shall inform him. The Governour of every Province is oblig'd to collect all those Vessels that he can find within his Jurisdiction, and send them to *Memphis* ; where they are fill'd with Water, and then convey'd to those arid Parts of *Syria*. So that all these Vessels, that can be found in *Ægypt*, are from



from Time to Time sent back into *Syria*. In this Manner the Persians, when they had conquer'd *Ægypt*, made Provision of Water for the Forces they should afterwards send to that Country. But, as before this Expedition Water was not thus preserv'd in those Parts, *Cambyfes* by the Advice of *Phanes* the Halicarnassian sent Ambassadors to sollicite the King of *Arabia* to permit him to pass in Safety ; and upon mutual Assurances of Amity obtain'd his Request. The Arabians are most religious Observers of the Contracts they make ; which are attended with these Ceremonies. When they enter into mutual Obligations, a third Person standing between the Parties, makes an Incision with a sharp Stone in the Palm of the Hand under the longest Fingers of both the Contractors ; and cutting a Shred from the Garment of each, dips it in the Blood, and anoints seven Stones brought thither to that End, invoking the Names of *Bacchus* and *Urania*. After this Invocation, the Mediator of the Agreement exhorts the Stranger, or the Citizen if the Contract be made with a Citizen, to perform the Conditions : And the Contractors are oblig'd to profess themselves bound in Justice to observe the Treaty. They acknowledge no other Gods than *Bacchus* and *Urania*, whom they call by the Names of *Ourotalt* and *Alilat*. They shave their Temples ; and cut their Hair to a circular Form ; in order, as they say, to resemble *Bacchus*. The Arabian, after the Conclusion of this Treaty with the Ambassadors of *Cambyfes*, caus'd a great Number of Camels Skins to be fill'd with Water, and loaded on living Camels ; Which being done, he order'd them to be driven to the arid Deserts, and

and there in Person expected the Arrival of *Cambyfes* with his Army. This Account seems to me the most credible: Yet I must not omit to mention another Expedient; (tho' less probable) because 'tis affirm'd likewise. *Corys* is a great River of *Arabia*, and runs into the *Red Sea*. And they say that the King of *Arabia* by joyning together the raw Hides of Oxen and other Animals, made an Aquæduct from this River to the Desarts, and convey'd the Water thither by that Means, into Cisterns provided for receiving and preserving as much as should be necessary. But that because the Way between the River and this dry Country was no less than twelve Days Journey, he contriv'd to convey the Water by three several Aquæducts into three different Places.

*PSAMMENITUS* the Son of *Amasis* lay encamp'd with his Army at the *Pelusian* Mouth of the *Nile*, in Expectation of *Cambyfes*; for *Amasis* died before this Invasion, after he had reign'd forty and four Years, in a continued Course of Felicity. His Body was embalm'd, and buried in the Sepulchre which he had built for himself in the Temple. During the Reign of *Psammenitus* a great Prodigy was seen in *Ægypt*. Showers of Rain fell at *Thebes*; which, the Thebans say, had never happen'd before, nor since even to this Day. For no Rain ever falls in the upper Regions of *Ægypt*: But at that Time they had Rain, as the Thebans affirm.

THE Persian Army march'd thro' the unwater'd Country, and arriving near the Camp of the *Ægyptians*, resolv'd to hazard a Battle: Which the Grecians and Carians, who were Auxiliaries to the *Ægyptians*, perceiving, they,

to

to shew their Detestation of *Phanes*, for introducing a foreign Enemy into *Ægypt*, brought his Sons into the Camp; and having plac'd a Bowl between the two Armies, kill'd them all upon the Bowl in Sight of their Father. Then, they pour'd Water and Wine into the Blood; and after all the Auxiliaries had tasted of this Mixture they began the Attack. The Battle was obstinately fought, and great Numbers fell on both sides: But at last the *Ægyptians* were put to Flight. On this Spot of Ground I saw a very surprizing thing, which the People of the Country shew'd me. For as the Bones of those who were kill'd in that Fight are separated; those of the *Persians* lying in one Place, and those of the *Ægyptians* in another, I found the Skulls of the *Persians* so weak that one might break them with the least Pebble; whereas those of the *Ægyptians* were hard enough to resist the Percussion of a weighty Stone. They told me, and I assented to their Experience, that this Difference is owing to the *Ægyptian* Custom of shaving the Heads of their Children early; by which Means the Bones rendered thicker and stronger thro' the Heat of the Sun, and the Head preserv'd from Baldness: And indeed we see fewer Persons bald in *Ægypt* than in any other Country. As therefore the Skull of an *Ægyptian* is fortified by this Method, so the Heads of the *Persians* are soften'd by contrary Custom. For they are not expos'd to the Sun, but always cover'd with Caps and Turbans. And I observ'd the same thing at *Papremis* in those who were defeated with *Achæmenes* the Son of *Darius*, by *Inarus* King of *Libya*.



THE Ægyptians, after they had lost the Battle, fled away to *Memphis* in a disorderly Manner. Which *Cambyfes* hearing, he sent a Persian Herald thither in a Ship of *Mitylene* to exhort them to surrender. But when they saw the Vessel entring the Port of *Memphis*, they ran out in great Numbers to the Shore; destroy'd the Ship; tore the Men in Pieces, and carried their mangled Limbs into the City. Upon this the Ægyptians were besieg'd, and after some Time forc'd to submit. Which so terrified the Libyans, that to avoid the like Calamity, they yielded to Mercy without a Blow, and taxing themselves in Proportion to their Abilities sent divers Presents to *Cambyfes*. The Cyrenæans and Barcæans being under the same Apprehensions, surrendred likewise as the Libyans had done. *Cambyfes* very favourably receiv'd the Presents of the Lybians; but was highly displeas'd at those of the Cyrenæans, as I conjecture, because they were inconsiderable. For they sent no more than five hundred Mines of Silver, which he took with Disdain, and threw about among the Soldiers. On the Tenth Day after the taking of *Memphis*, *Cambyfes* to try the Constancy of *Psammenitus*, who had reign'd only six Months, sent him in Disgrace to the Suburbs of the City, accompanied by other Ægyptians; and at the same Time ordering his Daughter to be dress'd in the Habit of a Slave, and furnish'd with a Bucket, commanded her, with other Virgins of the principal Families in *Ægypt* cloath'd in the same Manner, to bring Water from the River. When the Fathers of these Virgins saw them weeping and lamenting, they likewise wept and bewail'd the

Calamity

Calamity of their Children. But *Psammenitus* alone, who saw and heard no less than they, only turn'd his Eyes towards the Ground. These Virgins having pass'd by with Water, *Cambyfes* in the next Place sent the Son of *Psammenitus* thither also, attended by two thousand *Ægyptians* of like Age, all with Halters about their Necks, and a Curb in their Mouth; to suffer Death in Satisfaction for the Lives of those *Mitylenæans* who perish'd with their Ship. For the King's Judges had determin'd that ten of the principal *Ægyptians* should be sacrific'd for every one of those Men. Yet when *Psammenitus* perceiv'd them passing, and knew that his Son was going to dye, he did no more than he had done at the Sight of his Daughter; tho' all the rest of the *Ægyptians* about him made loud Lamentations. But he no sooner saw one of his Companions, a Man advanc'd in Years; plunder'd of all, and living only upon Alms, walking about the Suburbs, where the Army, and *Psammenitus* with other *Ægyptians* were, than he wept bitterly, and calling him by his Name, struck himself upon the Head. All these things being reported to *Cambyfes* by three Persons who were plac'd about *Psammenitus* to observe his Actions, he was struck with Wonder, and sent a Message to him in these Words. "*Psam-*  
"*menitus*, Thy Master *Cambyfes* is desirous  
"to know why, after thou hadst seen thy  
"Daughter so ignominiously treated, and thy  
"Son led to Execution, without any Excla-  
"mation or weeping, thou shouldst be so  
"highly concern'd for a poor Man no Way  
"related to thee, as he is inform'd." To this Question *Psammenitus* return'd the following Answer,

swer, “ Son of *Cyrus*, The Calamities of my  
 “ Family are too great to leave me the Power  
 “ of weeping : But the Misfortunes of a Com-  
 “ panion, reduc’d in his Old-age to the extrem-  
 “ est Necessity, may be fitly lamented with  
 “ Tears.” His Answer being brought to *Cam-  
 byses*, was generally approv’d; and the *Ægypti-  
 ans* say that not only *Cræsus*, who accompanied  
 him in this Expedition, and all the Persians  
 that were present, could not refrain from Tears;  
 but that *Cambyses* himself touch’d with Remorse,  
 sent immediate Orders to save the Life of the  
 Son, and to bring the Father from the Suburbs  
 into his Presence : That these Messengers found  
 the Son already dead, having been the first  
 that suffer’d; but conducted *Psammenitus* to  
*Cambyses*; who permitted him to live at his  
 own Discretion, without doing him any Manner  
 of Violence. And if by his Conduct he had per-  
 suaded *Cambyses* that he desir’d no Innovation,  
 he might probably have been entrusted with the  
 Administration of *Ægypt*. For the Persians are  
 accusom’d to pay so great Respect to the Sons  
 of Kings, that they usually bestow the King-  
 doms of those who revolt, upon their Children;  
 as may be proved by many Examples, and par-  
 ticularly by those of *Thannyra* the Son of *Inarus*  
 the Libyan, who was invested with his Fa-  
 ther’s Government; and of *Pausiris* the Son of  
*Amyrtæus*, who met with the same Fortune; tho’  
 greater Disasters never fell upon the Persians,  
 than by the Means of those two Kings. But  
*Psammenitus* designing to raise new Disturbances,  
 and soliciting the *Ægyptians* to rebel, was  
 seiz’d by order of *Cambyses*, and receiv’d the just  
 Reward of his Infidelity. For after his Con-  
 viction



viſtion he drank the Blood of a Bull, and died immediately.

FROM *Memphis Cambyſes* went to the City of *Sais*, in order to execute a Deſign he had projected; and to that end going into the Palace of *Amasís*, he preſently commanded his Body to be taken out of the Sepulchre: which being done, he gave farther Orders to whip him; to pull off his Hair; to prick him with pointed Inſtruments, and to abuſe the Corſe with all Manner of Indignity. But after they had tired themſelves with this Employment, and ſaw all their Efforts rendred ineffectual by the Solidity of the embalming Composition, *Cambyſes* commanded the Body to be burnt: Which was an Action of Impiety; becauſe the Perſians believe Fire to be a God; and to burn a dead Body is not permitted in either Nation. For the Perſians ſay 'tis a Violation of Religion to feed a God with the dead Body of a Man: And the *Ægyptians* hold that Fire is a ſavage Animal, which devours all that comes within his Reach, and after he has glutted his voracious Appetite, expires with the things he has conſum'd: Nei- do do they ever give the Bodies of dead Men to wild Beaſts; but chuſe rather to embalm them than to bury them in the Earth, leſt they ſhould be eaten by Worms. So that *Cambyſes* commanded a thing altogether repugnant to the Manners of both Nations. But the *Ægyptians* pretend this was not the Body of *Amasís*, but of another *Ægyptian*, equal to him in Years, whom the Perſians, miſtaking him for *Amasís*, treated ſo opprobriouſly. For they ſay, that *Amasís* being admoniſh'd by the Oracle of what ſhould happen to him after-Death, contriv'd

to secure himself against the Prediction, by placing the dead Body of this Ægyptian near the Door of his Sepulchre, and commanding his Son to deposit his own in the remotest Part of the same Monument: Tho' I am of Opinion that these pretended Commands of *Amasis* touching his own Funeral, and this Ægyptian, are fictitious.

AFTER this, *Cambyſes* resolv'd to undertake three ſeveral Expeditions; one againſt the Carthaginians; another againſt the Ammonians, and a third againſt the Macrobian Æthiopians, who inhabit that Part of *Libya* which lies upon the *South Sea*. He deſign'd to attack the Carthaginians with a Fleet, and the Ammonians by a Land-Army. But before he would make War againſt the Æthiopians, he determin'd to ſend ſome Perſons into the Country, who under Pretence of carrying Preſents to their King, and inquiring into the Truth of the Report concerning the Table of the Sun, might diſcover the Strength and Condition of the Kingdom. They ſay this Table of the Sun is a certain Meadow in the Suburbs, furniſh'd with the roasted Fleſh of all Sorts of four-footed Animals, which being rang'd in Order by the Magiſtrates of the City in the Night, ſerve to feaſt all Comers in the Morning. The Inhabitants ſay that theſe things are a daily Preſent of the Earth: And this is their Account of the Table of the Sun.

CAMBYSES in Purſuance of his Reſolution touching the Spies, ſent to *Elephantis* for ſuch Perſons among the Ichthyophages, as beſt underſtood the Æthiopian Language; and in the mean Time commanded all his Naval Forces to ſail to-  
wards

wards *Carthage*. But the Phœnicians alledging that they were under the most sacred Obligations of Relation to the Carthaginians, and could not without Impiety make War against their own Blood, refus'd to execute the Orders of *Cambyfes*. And the rest being utterly incapable of such an Enterprize, the Carthaginians were thus preserv'd from the Persian Power. For *Cambyfes* did not think convenient to compel the Phœnicians to obey, because they had voluntarily submitted to him, and made up the great Strength of his Fleet; tho' the Cyprians had done the same, and were likewise employ'd against the Ægyptians. When the Ichthyophages arriv'd from *Elephantis*, *Cambyfes* sent them away to *Æthiopia* with full Instructions, and Presents consisting of a Suit of Purple, a Necklace and Bracelets of Gold, an Alabaster Box of rich Oynment, and a Vessel of Palm Wine. These Æthiopians are reported to surpass all other Men in Beauty and large proportion of Body; and to govern themselves in respect to the Succession of the Kingdom by a peculiar Method, unknown in any other Part of the World. For they confer the Royal Dignity upon the Man who is of the largest Size, and of Strength proportionable to his Person. To this Nation the Ichthyophages were sent; and after their Arrival having made their Presents to the King, they address'd themselves to him in these Words, " *Cambyfes* King of the Persians, being desirous  
" to enter into mutual Engagements of Friend-  
" ship and Hospitality with Thee, has given  
" us Commission to treat of this Affair; and  
" sent these Presents, which are such as he him-  
" self is most delighted with. To which the  
S Æthiopian



Æthiopian, not doubting they were Spies, re-  
 turn'd this Answer. " 'Twas not from any Con-  
 sideration of my Friendship that the King of  
 Persia sent you to me with these Presents ;  
 neither have you spoken the Truth ; but are  
 come into my Kingdom as Spies. If Camby-  
 ses were an honest Man, he would desire no  
 more than his own ; and not endeavour to  
 reduce a People under Servitude who have  
 never done him any Injury. However, give  
 him this Bow from me, and let him know  
 that the King of Æthiopia advises the King  
 of Persia to make War against the Macro-  
 bian Æthiopians, when the Persians shall  
 be able thus easily to draw so strong a Bow ;  
 and in the mean Time to thank the Gods,  
 that they never inspir'd the Æthiopians  
 with a Desire of extending their Domini-  
 on beyond their own Country. When he  
 said this, he loosen'd the String, and deliver'd  
 the Bow to the Ambassadors. Then taking  
 up the purple Garment, he ask'd what it was,  
 and how made ; and after they had inform'd  
 him touching the Colour, and Manner of the  
 Tincture, " The Men, said he, are de-  
 ceitful, and so is the Cloathing they wear.  
 In the next Place he question'd them concern-  
 ing the Necklace and Bracelets ; and when  
 they had explain'd to him the curious Work-  
 manship of those things, the King laugh'd, and  
 told them that Chains of a far greater Strength  
 were to be found in Æthiopia. Of the Oynt-  
 ment he gave the same Judgment as of the pur-  
 ple Garments. But when they enter'd into a  
 Discourse about the Wine, which the Æthiopian  
 tasted with great Pleasure, he desir'd to know  
 what

what Provisions were us'd at the King of *Persia's* Table, and to what Age the longest Life of a Persian might reach. The Ambassadors answer'd, that the Food of the King of *Persia* was Bread; taking Occasion from that Demand to describe the Nature of Wheat; and that the longest Life of a Persian might extend to fourscore Years. The *Æthiopian* King replied, that he was not at all surpriz'd, if Men who eat nothing but Dung, did not attain to a longer Life: And was persuaded they could not arrive even to that Age, without the Assistance of Wine: Acknowledging the Persians to have the Advantage of the *Æthiopians* in that Particular. Then the *Ichthyophages* inquiring in their Turn concerning the Life and Dyet of the *Æthiopians*, the King said, that they usually attain'd to a hundred and twenty Years; and some to a greater Age; that they fed upon roasted Flesh, and us'd Milk for their Drink. But seeing the Spies astonish'd at the Mention of so great a Number of Years; he brought them to a Fountain, which renders the Bodies of Men smooth as if anointed with Oyl, and perfum'd, as with the Odour of Violets. The Water of this Fountain, as the Spies said, is too weak to bear either Wood, or other Substance lighter than Wood; but every thing presently sinks to the Bottom. This Water, if indeed they have any such, is said to be us'd by all the Inhabitants, and accounted the Cause of their Longevity. From this Fountain the King conducted them to see the Prisons, where all the Prisoners are fetter'd with Chains of Gold: For among these *Æthiopians* the most rare and valued of all Metals, is

Brass. The next thing they view'd was the Place which is call'd the Table of the Sun ; and last of all the Sepulchres, which are said to be cover'd with Glass in the Manner following. When they have dried the Body after the *Ægyptian* Fashion, or some other Way ; they lay on a Covering of white Plaister, which they paint with Colours as near as possible to the Likeness of the Person deceas'd : Then they inclose the Body within a hollow Column of Crystal, which they digg easily, and in great Abundance in those Parts. The dead are plainly seen thro' these transparent Glasses ; emitting no ill Scent ; nor being at all disagreeable to the Eye ; because they perfectly resemble the Persons living. They are kept a whole Year in the Houses of their nearest Relations ; and during that Time are honour'd with Sacrifices, and the first Fruits of all things : After which they are carried out, and plac'd upright round the Parts adjoyning to the City.

THE Ichthyophages having seen every thing remarkable, return'd to *Cambyfes* ; and after they had acquainted him with all that had pass'd, he fell into a violent Passion, and order'd his Army to march immediately against the *Æthiopians*, without making any Provision for their Subsistence, or once considering that he was going to make War in the remotest Parts of the World ; but assoon as he had heard the Report of his Messengers, like a Man abandon'd of Reason and good Sense, he began to move with the whole Body of his Land Forces ; commanding only the Grecians to stay behind with their Ships. When he arriv'd at  
*Thebes,*



*Thebes*, he drew out about fifty thousand Men ; ordering them to ravage all the Country of the Ammonians, and to burn the Oracle of *Jupiter Ammon*, whilst he with the rest of his Army should march against the *Æthiopians*. But before he had advanc'd a fifth Part of the Way, his Provisions were consum'd, together with the Cattle that serv'd to carry the Baggage : And if upon the first Information of this Want, *Cambyfes* had return'd with his Forces, and ceas'd to pursue his rash Attempt, before he committed more Faults, he had given some Proof of his Wisdom. But he abandon'd all to Chance, and obstinately continued his March. The Soldiers fed upon Herbs, so long as they found any in their Way : But when they arriv'd in the sandy Desarts, some of them were guilty of a horrid Action. For they cast Lots among themselves, and eat every tenth Man : Which *Cambyfes* hearing, and apprehending they would continue to devour one another ; he desisted from his Enterprize against the *Æthiopians*, and retreated to *Thebes*, after he had lost a great Part of his Army. From thence under the Conduct of Guides he return'd with the rest of his Forces to *Memphis* ; where, at his Arrival he dismiss'd the Grecians with Leave to retire in their Ships to their own Country : And thus ended this Expedition of *Cambyfes* against the *Æthiopians*. As for that Part of the Army which he sent against the Ammonians, they march'd from *Thebes*, and by the Help of their Guides arriv'd at the City *Oasis*, inhabited by Samians, who are reported to be descended from the *Ælchrionian* Tribe, and situate seven Days March from *Thebes*, thro' the Sands. This Country in the Grecian Language

guage is call'd the Fortunate Island, and no Man doubts that an Army arriv'd in this Place. But what was their Fate afterwards, is related by none, except the Ammonians, or those who have convers'd with them: For they never return'd to their own Country, nor even to *Ægypt*. The Ammonians say, they march'd from *Oasis*; and after they had pass'd one half of the Sands which lye in the Way from that City, a strong and impetuous Wind began to blow from the South at the Time of their Dinner, and rais'd the Sands to such a Degree, that the whole Army was buried alive and perish'd.

WHEN *Cambyfes* was return'd to *Memphis*, *Apis*, or, as the Grecians call him, *Epaphus*, appearing among the *Ægyptians*, they put on the richest of their Apparel, and feasted splendidly. Which *Cambyfes* seeing, and highly resenting these Expressions of Joy, after his Affairs had succeeded so ill; he sent for the Magistrates of *Memphis*, and putting them in Mind that the *Ægyptians* had done no such thing when he was in *Memphis* before, ask'd why they carried themselves in this Manner, after he had lost so great a Part of his Army. They answer'd, that when their God manifested himself, which seldom happen'd, the *Ægyptians* had been always accustom'd to celebrate his Appearance with the greatest Demonstrations of Joy. Which when *Cambyfes* heard, he told them, They lyed; and put them to Death, as Lyars. Then he sent for the Priests; and having receiv'd the like Answer from them, he said, that if any God was so mild and familiar to shew himself to the *Ægyptians*; he would not be unacquainted with him; and without more Words commanded

manded the Priests to bring their God. So they departed to put his Orders in Execution. This *Apis*, or *Epaphus*, is the Calf of a Cow incapable of bearing another, and no otherwise to be impregnated than by Thunder, as the *Ægyptians* affirm. The Marks that distinguish him from all others, are these. His Body is black; except one Square of White on the Forehead: He has the Figure of an Eagle on his Back; a double List of Hair on his Tail; and a Scarabæus under his Tongue. When the Priests had brought their God into the Presence of *Cambyfes*, he in a brutal Manner drew his Dagger, and designing to thrust it into the Belly of *Apis*, wounded him in the Thigh: Then falling into a Fit of Laughter, “Ye Wretches, said he, are these things, which  
“are compos’d of Flesh and Blood, and so easily  
“vulnerable, the Gods you worship? This is a  
“worthy God indeed, and suitable to the Cha-  
“racter of the *Ægyptians*. But I will let you  
“know that you shall not abuse me with Im-  
“punity”. When he had said these Words, he commanded the proper Officers to whip the Priest; and to kill all the *Ægyptians* they should find making publick Demonstrations of Joy. Thus the Festival was interrupted; the Priests punish’d; and *Apis*, after he had languish’d some Time, dying of his Wound in the Temple, was buried by the Priests, and his Death conceal’d from *Cambyfes*. The *Ægyptians* say *Cambyfes* grew mad immediately after this sacrilegious Action; tho’ ’tis known he was so before; and had made the first Discovery of his Extravagance upon the Person of his Brother *Smerdis*, who was born of the  
S 4 same



same Father and Mother with himself; sending him back from *Ægypt* in a jealous Humour to *Persia*, because he alone of all the Persians had been able to draw the Bow, which the Ichthyophages brought from the *Æthiopian* King, within the Breadth of two Fingers. After his Departure *Cambyfes* dream'd he saw a Vision, representing a Messenger arriv'd from *Persia* to inform him that *Smerdis* was seated on the Royal Throne, and touch'd the Heavens with his Head. Upon which fearing his Brother would kill him, and assume the Kingdom, he sent *Prexaspes*, one of his principal Confidants, to *Persia*, with Orders to kill *Smerdis*. *Prexaspes*, in Pursuance of his Instructions put an End to the Life of *Smerdis*; some say at a Hunting appointed to that purpose: Others, that he drown'd him in the *Red Sea*, after he had by his Persuasions drawn him thither: And this is accounted the first delirious Action of *Cambyfes*. His second, was the Murder of his own Sister, who had accompanied him into *Ægypt*, and was also his Wife. Which was the first Example of that Kind among the Persians; who till that Time had always abstain'd from such Marriages. But *Cambyfes* being in Love with one of his Sisters; and as desirous of making her his Wife, as convinc'd of the Novelty of his Design, summon'd all the Royal Judges together. These Judges are certain chosen Persians, who continue in their Offices during Life, unless they are convicted of a Crime. They decide all Controversies; interpret the Laws; and all things are referr'd to their Determination. To these Persons *Cambyfes* apply'd himself, and having demanded whether they had any Law that permitted

permitted a Man to marry his Sister, receiv'd this cautious and proper Answer: That indeed they could find no Law to permit a Man to marry his Sister; but were well acquainted with another, which gives a Liberty to the Kings of *Persia* to do whatever they think convenient. And by this Means they did not a'rogate a Law for fear of *Cambyfes*; but that they might not lose their Lives by a pertinacious Resistance, they found out another in favour of the King, who was so desirous of this Match. Upon their Answer *Cambyfes* married the Sister he lov'd, and a little Time after, another. The Person he kill'd was the youngest of these, who follow'd him into *Ægypt*; and whose Death, as well as that of *Smerdis*, is reported two Ways. For the Grecians say, that *Cambyfes* having one Day brought a young Dog to the Whelp of a Lyon, diverted himself to see them fight; and that this Dog being over-match'd, another of the same Litter broke loose, and ran to his Assistance; by which Means the two Dogs worsted the Lyon: That whilst *Cambyfes* was pleasing himself with this Entertainment, the young Woman, who sat by him, began to weep; of which when the King had ask'd her the Reason, she answer'd, That seeing the little Dog come so seasonably to the Succour of his Brother, she could not refrain from Tears, because this Accident put her in mind of the Fate of her Brother *Smerdis*, whose Death she knew no Body would revenge: And the Grecians affirm that for these Words *Cambyfes* kill'd her. But the *Ægyptians* say, that as they were both at Table, she took a Lettuce, and pulling the Leaves asunder, ask'd her Husband, “ Whether an intire  
“ Lettuce

“ Lettuce was not more beautiful than one  
 “ pull’d in pieces. He answer’d, Most certain-  
 “ ly : Then said she, you have truly represent-  
 “ ed this broken Lettuce, by dismembring the  
 “ House of *Cyrus* : That upon these Words  
*Cambyfes* in a Rage struck her with his Foot, and  
 caus’d an Abortion, of which she died. Thus  
*Cambyfes* exercis’d his Fury, against those of his  
 own Family; but whether his Madness seiz’d  
 him for the Death of *Apis*, or from any other  
 Cause, may be doubted; because humane Na-  
 ture is subject to many Evils. And indeed we  
 are inform’d that *Cambyfes* was afflicted from  
 his Infancy with a convulsive Malady, by some  
 call’d the *sacred Disease* : And then, no Wonder  
 if his Mind were not found in so distemper’d  
 a Body. Besides these, he was guilty of other  
 outrageous Extravagancies against the Persians,  
 and among them against *Prexaspes*; who had  
 always been honour’d by him in an extraordi-  
 nary Manner; receiv’d all Messages in his  
 Name; and had a Son that serv’d him as Cup-  
 bearer, which is an Office of great Dignity.  
 For when he ask’d *Prexaspes* what the Persians  
 said of him, and what Character they usually  
 gave him in their familiar Conversations, *Prexas-  
 pes* answer’d, “ SIR, They highly applaud your  
 “ Actions in general; only think you too much  
 “ addicted to Wine. How, said *Cambyfes* with  
 “ Indignation; the Persians say I overthrow my  
 “ Understanding and Judgment by drinking Wine  
 “ to excess? If that be true, they have been  
 “ great Dissemblers”. For *Cambyfes* being for-  
 merly present in a great Assembly of Persians,  
 where *Craesus* likewise assisted; and asking what  
 Opinion they had of him in Comparison of his  
 Father



Father *Cyrus*, they told him, he far surpass'd his Father, because he was not only Master of all that *Cyrus* possess'd, but had added *Ægypt* and the Sea to his Dominions. Nevertheless *Cræsus* not approving their Conclusion, spoke thus to *Cambyfes*; "Son of *Cyrus*, I cannot persuade my self that thou art equal to thy Father : For thou hast not yet such a Son to succeed thee as he had : Which Words were so grateful to *Cambyfes*, that he highly commended the Judgment of *Cræsus* : And on this Occasion remembering what had pass'd at that Time, said with Indignation to *Prexaspes*, "See now, whether the Persians have spoken the Truth ; or are distracted themselves, when they say these things of me ? For if I shoot this Arrow thro' the Heart of thy Son, who stands there under the Portico, the Persians have said nothing to the Purpose : But if I miss, they have spoken the Truth, and I am mad." He had no sooner pronounc'd these Words, than drawing his Bow, he shot an Arrow thro' the Body of the young Man : Then commanding him to be taken up and open'd ; and finding the Arrow had pierc'd his Heart, he turn'd about with great Joy, and laughing in the Face of the Father, said, "*Prexaspes*, I suppose thou art now convinc'd that the Persians are mad, and not *Cambyfes*. Tell me ; didst thou ever see a Man shoot more just than I have done" ? But *Prexaspes* perceiving him to be delirious, and being under great Apprehensions for his own Life, "Truly Sir, said he, I believe a God could not shoot more dexterously". At another Time he commanded twelve Persians of the first Rank to be

be seiz'd, and without any just Cause to be buried alive. But whilst he was proceeding in this Furious Manner, *Cræsus* the Lydian thought fit to admonish him in these Words. " I beseech you SIR, let not Youth and Anger be so prevalent with you ; but restrain and moderate your Passions. For 'tis the Part of a wise Man, and conducing to your own Safety to foresee and prevent Danger. You have destroy'd divers of your own Countrymen upon slight Occasions ; and have not spar'd their Children ; consider if you persist in such a Course, whether the Persians may not rebel. For my own Part I cannot refrain from giving you this Advice, because your Father *Cyrus* expressly commanded me to put you in Mind of whatever might be most expedient for your Affairs. To this friendly Counsel of *Cræsus* *Cambyses* answer'd, " How dare you presume to advise me ? As if you had so wisely govern'd your own Kingdom : 'Twas admirable Counsel you gave my Father, when you persuaded him to pass the River *Araxes*, and attack the Massagetes, instead of permitting them to enter our Territories as they were willing to do. You first ruin'd your self by your own ill Government : and then destroy'd *Cyrus* by your ill Advice. But you shall not long enjoy the Pleasure of that Action : For 'tis more than Time I should take Occasion to avenge his Death. " No sooner had he pronounc'd these Words, than he took up his Bow to shoot *Cræsus* ; but the Lydian sav'd himself by running immediately out of his Presence. Nevertheless *Cambyses* perceiving the Object of his Fury withdrawn,

drawn, commanded his Officers to sieze him and put him to Death. But they, who knew his Manner, resolv'd to conceal *Cræsus*; that if *Cambyfes* should repent of his Rashness, and inquire for him, they might be well rewarded for preserving his Life; or dispatch him afterwards, if they should find that *Cambyfes* had neither alter'd his Opinion, nor desir'd to see him. In a little Time the King fail'd not to ask for *Cræsus*; which the Officers understanding, acquainted him that *Cræsus* was still living. "I am very glad, said *Cambyfes*, that he "is alive: But will never forgive those who "sav'd him." And indeed he made good his Word; for he put them all to Death. Many more Actions of this Nature he did whilst he staid at *Memphis*, not only against the Persians, but also against his Confederates. He open'd many ancient Sepulchres to view the Bodies of the dead; and entring into the Temple of *Vulcan*, derided the Image of the God: Which indeed resembles those Phœnician Figures that are plac'd on the Prow of their Ships, and call'd *Patæcians*, not exceeding the Stature of a Pigmy. He likewise went into the Temple of the Cabirian Gods, (which no Man except the Priest may presume to enter,) and after he had ridicul'd the Form of their Images, order'd them to be thrown into the Fire; because they were like that of *Vulcan*, from whom they are said to be descended. All these things convince me that *Cambyfes* was outrageously mad: Else he would never have attempted to make a Mockery of National Religions and Customs. For if all Men were left at Liberty to introduce from other Places such Rites and

Usages



Usages as they should best approve; they would yet chuse to retain their own; every Man being strongly inclin'd to prefer the Manners of his Country before those of any other. That this is the common Sentiment of all Mankind, I could prove by many Instances; but shall content my self with one. *Darius* having assembled the Grecians who liv'd under his Empire, ask'd them for how great a Sum they would oblige themselves to eat the dead Bodies of their Parents; and they answering that nothing was sufficient to induce them to commit so great a Crime; he presently sent for certain Indians call'd Callatians, who are accustomed to eat the dead Bodies of their Fathers, and demanding in the Presence of the Grecians and their Interpreters, how much Money they would take to burn their Parents after Death, they made loud Exclamations, and begg'd he would mention such things no more. This is the Effect of Custom: And therefore *Pindar* in my Opinion says judiciously, *That Custom is the King of all Men.*

WHILST the Arms of *Cambyfes* were employ'd in this Expedition, the Lacedæmonians made War against *Samos*; where *Polycrates* had put himself at the Head of a Party, and by Violence seiz'd the Government. He at first divided his Acquisition with his two Brothers *Pantagnotus* and *Syloson*; but afterwards having put the elder to Death, and expell'd *Syloson*, who was the younger, he became sole Master of all, and made an Alliance with *Amasis* King of *Ægypt*; which was confirm'd and cultivated on both sides by mutual Presents. His Enterprizes were attended with  
such

such Success, that in a short Time all the Ionian and Grecian Cities were acquainted with his Fame; every thing yielding to the Reputation of his Arms, wherever he determin'd to make War. He had a hundred Gallies of fifty Oars each, and a thousand Archers. He attack'd all Places without Distinction; pretending to do a greater Favour to his Friends by restoring what he had taken away, than by leaving them in the quiet Enjoyment of their Possessions. He subdued many of the Islands; took divers Cities on the Continent; defeated the Lesbians in a Sea-fight, as they were going to assist the Milesians with their whole Fleet; and putting them all to the Chain, compell'd them to make the Ditch that surrounds the Walls of *Samos*. So many Successes were not unknown to *Amasis*, and plung'd him into no little Perplexity. But when he heard that their Number increas'd daily, he wrote to *Polycrates* in these Terms. “ *Amasis* to *Polycrates*: “ I have heard with Pleasure the fortunate “ Successes that attend the Enterprizes of a “ Friend and Ally. But the Excess of thy Prosperity disturbs me; because I know how envious the Gods are. As for me, I would rather chuse, that my Affairs and those of my “ Friends should alternately participate of good “ and bad Fortune thro’ the whole Course of “ Life, than be always accompanied with uninterrupted Felicity. For I cannot remember “ that I ever heard of a Man, who having “ been always happy, did not at last perish by “ some signal Calamity. Be advis’d therefore by “ me; and fence against good Fortune in “ this Manner: Consider what you value at a “ high

“ high Rate, and would be much concern’d  
 “ to lose: Deprive your self of this precious  
 “ thing so effectually, that it may be utterly  
 “ lost: And if your Prosperities still continue  
 “ without other Vicissitude, repeat the Reme-  
 “ dy which you have now from me. When  
*Polycrates* had read this Letter, and attentively  
 consider’d the Matter, he approv’d the Coun-  
 sel of *Amasis*; and deliberateing with himself,  
 which of all his Treasures he could not aban-  
 don without a most sensible Reluctancy, came  
 at last to this Resolution: He had a Signet  
 made of an Emerald, set in Gold by the Hand of  
*Theodorus* the Son of *Telecles* the Samian; and  
 this he determin’d to lose in the following Man-  
 ner. He went on board a Galley of fifty Oars  
 compleatly mann’d, commanding the Mariners  
 to put off; and when he saw they had advanc’d  
 to a considerable Distance from the Island, he  
 took the Jewel in his Hand, and in the Pre-  
 sence of all the Company threw it into the  
 Sea. This done, he commanded them to car-  
 ry him back, and at his Return was not a little  
 disturb’d for his Loss. But on the fifth or sixth  
 Day after, a certain Fisherman having taken a  
 large and beautiful Fish, and thinking it a Pre-  
 sent worthy of *Polycrates*, went to the Gates  
 of his Palace, and desir’d Admission: Which  
 being granted, he presented the Fish to the King,  
 and said, ” Tho’ I get my Living by hard La-  
 “ bour; yet I could not persuade my self to  
 “ carry this Fish, which I have taken, to the  
 “ Market, because I thought it a fit Present for  
 “ a King.” *Polycrates* pleas’d with these Words,  
 commended the Man; and having thank’d him,  
 as well for his Complement as for the Fish, in-  
 vited



vited him to Dinner. The Fisherman receiv'd these Favours with great Joy, and went away to his own Habitation. In the mean Time the Servants opening the Fish, saw the Signet lodged in the Belly ; and when they had taken it out, hasten'd with much Satisfaction to *Polycrates*, restor'd the Jewel, and acquainted him in what Manner they had found it. *Polycrates* persuaded that the event was divine, wrote down what he had done, as well as what had happen'd to him afterwards, and sent the whole Account to *Ægypt*. By which *Amasis* being convinc'd that no Man can deliver another from the Effects of a fatal Decree, and that the Life of *Polycrates* would not terminate in such Prosperity as had attended his Actions so constantly that he recover'd even those things which he design'd to lose, sent a Herald to *Samos* with Orders to renounce his Friendship, and dissolve all Obligations of Hospitality that had been contracted between them ; lest the future Calamities of *Polycrates* should affect him with that Grief which Men owe to the Misfortunes of a Friend.

AGAINST this *Polycrates*, so universally happy in all his Affairs, the Lacedæmonians prepar'd to make War, at the Solicitation of those Samians who afterwards founded the City of *Cydonia* in *Crete*. But *Polycrates*, being inform'd of their Design, sent a Messenger privately to *Cambyses* the Son of *Cyrus*, as he was preparing to invade *Ægypt* ; with Instructions to desire him to demand some Assistance of the Samians. Which when *Cambyses* heard, he readily dispatch'd a Message to *Polycrates*, desiring he would furnish a Fleet to assist him in his *Ægyptian* Expedition.

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Upon this Demand *Polycrates* drew out all those he suspected of seditious Designs, and sent them with forty Gallies to *Cambyſes*, requesting him at the same Time that he would not permit them to return to *Samos*. Some affirm that these Samians never arriv'd in *Ægypt*; but in their Passage thro' the Carpathian Sea, calling a Council of War, came to a Resolution not to proceed farther in their Voyage: Others say, that they arriv'd in *Ægypt*; but finding themselves observ'd and under Guard, they took an Opportunity to make their Escape, and in their Return to *Samos* met the Fleet of *Polycrates*, which they defeated, and landed safely in their own Country; where they fought an unsuccessful Battle by Land, and afterwards set Sail for *Lacedæmon*. Yet some pretend they had the Victory in this Action also; but I think their Opinion is groundless. For they could not have been under a Necessity of imploring the Aid of the Lacedæmonians, if they had found themselves able to resist the Forces of *Polycrates*. Besides, 'tis repugnant to Reason to imagine that one who had a numerous Army of foreign Mercenaries in his Pay, and such a Body of Samian Bowmen, should be beaten by so unequal a Number as those were who return'd from *Ægypt*: Especially if we consider, that *Polycrates* to prevent Treachery, had brought together the Wives and Children of all the Samians into the Arsenal of the Navy; resolving to burn them together with the Naval Stores, if he should find himself betray'd to the returning Exiles.

THESE Samians, thus expell'd by *Polycrates*, arriv'd in *Sparta*; and coming before the Senate, implor'd their Assistance in many Words, and with pressing

pressing Instances. But at this first Audience, the Lacedæmonians gave them no other Answer than That they had forgotten the first Part of their Speech, and therefore could not comprehend the last. At their second Appearance, the Samians caus'd an empty Basket to be brought in, and only said, There was no Bread : Upon which the Lacedæmonians answer'd, That the Basket might have been sufficient to declare their Wants ; and immediately decreed to assist them. When all things were ready for the Expedition , the Lacedæmonians transported their Army to *Samos*, in Requit, as the Samians pretend, for the Assistance they formerly had from *Samos*, when they were engaged in a War against the Messenians ; tho' the Lacedæmonians say, they did not undertake this Enterprize out of good Will to the Samians ; but to revenge themselves of that People for intercepting the Bason they sent to *Cræsus*, and robbing them the Year before of a curious Pectoral which *Amasis* King of *Ægypt* had sent to them. This Pectoral was made of Linnen adorn'd with many Figures of Animals woven into the Work, and enrich'd with Gold and Variety of Colours : The Chain is of admirable Artifice, fine and slender, tho' consisting of three hundred and sixty distinct Threads. Such another is seen at *Lindus*, presented to *Minerva* by the same *Amasis*. The Corinthians were easily induc'd to take Part in this War ; because they also had been injur'd by the Samians in the preceding Age. For when *Periander* the Son of *Cypselus* had sent three hundred Youths, born of the noblest Families of *Corcyra* to *Alyattes* King of *Sardis*, that they might



be made Eunuchs : and the Corinthian Ships, which transported them, were already arriv'd at *Samos* ; the Samians, who were not ignorant of the Design of this Voyage, in the first place instructed the Boys to take Sanctuary in the Temple of *Diana*, forbidding the Corinthians to use any violent Means to remove them, because they were under the Protection of the Goddess : And when the Corinthians refus'd to give them Subsistence, the Samians on their Account instituted a Festival, which they observe to this Day. For at Night, whilst the Suppliants were in the Temple, they assembled the young Men and Virgins to dance ; and order'd them to carry about certain Cakes made of Flower and Honey, that the Corcyræan Youths might snatch them out of their Hands, and by this Means sustain themselves : Which Practice they continued, till the Corinthians weary of attending, thought fit to depart from *Samos* ; and were no sooner gone, than the Samians sent Home the Boys to *Corcyra*. Now if the Corinthians had liv'd in Amity with the Corcyræans after the Death of *Periander*, they would not have taken Part with the Lacedæmonians against *Samos* on this Occasion : But indeed from the first peopling of that Island, their Diffensions have been perpetual. The Corinthians therefore not forgetting the Usage they receiv'd at *Samos*, join'd their Forces to the Lacedæmonians. As for *Periander*, the Reason he had to send the Sons of the principal Men of *Corcyra* to *Sardis*, with the Design I have mentioned was this. When he had kill'd his Wife *Melissa*, he found that Calamity attended by another. She left him two Sons, one of seventeen

venteen, and another of eighteen Years of Age. These young Men *Procles* Tyrant of *Epidaurus*, their Grandfather, by the Mother, sent for to his Court, and caress'd with that Tenderness which is usually shewn to the Children of a Daughter. And when he dismiss'd them said, " You know " who kill'd your Mother." The Elder made no Reflexion on these Words; But the Younger, whose Name was *Lycophron*, returning to *Corinth* full of Resentment, and detesting the Murderer of his Mother, disdain'd either to speak to his Father, or make any Answer to the Questions he ask'd : 'Till at last *Periander* in great Anger turn'd him out of his House; and afterwards enquir'd of the elder Brother what Discourses they had hear'd from their Grandfather. He acquainted him that they had been receiv'd by *Procles* in the kindest Manner; not at all mentioning the Words he said at their Departure : because they had made no Impression on his Mind. But *Periander* insisting that their Grandfather had undoubtedly given him some Instructions, ply'd him so long with Questions, that in the End the young Man recover'd his Memory, and repeated the Words to his Father : Which he having attentively consider'd; and resolving to treat his Son without the least Indulgence, sent to the Persons that had given him Reception, forbidding them to harbour him for the future. *Lycophron* being remov'd from this House retir'd to another; from whence upon the Menaces and positive Commands of *Periander*, he was expell'd in like Manner. But betaking himself to a third, he was receiv'd as the Son of *Periander*, tho' the Persons concern'd were not without Fear of his

Displeasure. At last *Periander* by an Edict commanded all Men to abstain from receiving him, or conversing with him, under Penalty of a certain Fine to be applied to the Temple of *Apollo*. After which every one declining his Presence and conversation, he resolv'd to retire into the publick Porticoes, without making any farther Trial of his Friends in such desperate Circumstances. But on the fourth Day after this Resolution, *Periander* finding him disfigured by Want and Nastiness, began to relent, and approaching him with Compassion, said; " Son, " Art thou better pleas'd with this misera- " ble way of living; than to qualify thy self " by obeying me, to enjoy all the Power and " Riches I possess? Thou, who art my Son, " and a King in the rich City of *Corinth*, hast " chosen a vagabond Life by disobeying and " irritating me contrary to thy Duty: For " that Misfortune, which so highly disturbs " thee, has fallen more heavily on me; be- " cause the Fact was perpetrated by my self. " Therefore as I doubt not that thou hast suffi- " ciently learnt how much better 'tis to be envi- " ed than pitied, and how prejudicial to provoke " a Parent and a powerful Man, I give thee " Leave to return Home." Such was the Ad- monition of *Periander* to his Son. But *Lycophron* return'd no other Answer to his Father, than that he had incurr'd the Penalty of his own Edict by speaking to him. So that *Periander* perceiv- ing the Obstinacy of his Son to be insuperable and without Remedy, remov'd him out of his Sight, and sent him by Sea to *Corcyra*, which was a Part of his Dominions. After the Depar- ture of *Lycophron*, *Periander* made War against his



his Father-in-Law *Procles*, as the principal Author of these Troubles ; forc'd the City of *Epidaurus*, and took *Procles* Prisoner at the same Time. At length growing old, and perceiving he could no longer attend the Administration of publick Affairs, he sent for *Lycophron* from *Corcyra* to take the Government upon him, because he found his eldest Son stupid and incapable ; but *Lycophron* would not vouchsafe to give Audience to the Messenger. Nevertheless *Periander* still fond of the young Man, sent another Message to him by his own Daughter, who was Sister to *Lycophron* ; thinking she might persuade him to return. At her Arrival she spoke to him in these Terms ; “ Child, said she, “ Hadst thou rather see thy Father's Dominions “ fall into the Hands of others, and our Family utterly destroy'd, than return to *Corinth* “ and take Possession of all ? Come away from “ this Place, and cease to punish thy self. Ob- “ stinacy is an inauspicious Quality : Think not “ to cure one Evil by another. Many have “ preferr'd Equity before the Rigour of Justice ; and many have lost their paternal Inheritance by pursuing a maternal Claim. A “ Tyranny is an uncertain Possession, and court- “ ed by numerous Pretenders. Thy Father, “ is old, and infirm : Let nothing therefore “ prevail with thee to abandon to others the “ Advantages which belong to thy self.” Thus she press'd him with these Exhortations, as she had been instructed by her Father. But *Lycophron* refusing to comply, assur'd her he would never return to *Corinth* so long as he should hear his Father was living. With this Answer she departed, and having inform'd *Periander* of

what had pass'd he sent a third Message by a Herald to acquaint his Son, that he himself design'd to retire to *Corcyra*; and commanded him to return, in order to take immediate Possession of the Government. To this Proposition *Lycophron* consented; and as *Periander* was preparing to remove to *Corcyra*, and his Son to *Corinth*, the *Corcyræans* inform'd of the Design, and unwilling to receive *Periander* into their Country, kill'd the young Man: And this was the Cause that mov'd *Periander* to revenge himself against the *Corcyræans*.

THE Lacedæmonians arriving with a great Fleet, besieg'd *Samos*; and advancing towards the Wall, pass'd by a Fort which was built upon the Shore near the Suburbs: But *Polycrates* at the Head of a considerable Force falling upon their Army, compell'd them to retire. Soon after, a good Body of Samians, in Conjunction with their Auxiliary Forces, sallied out from another Tower, which stands on the Ridge of a Hill, and attack'd the Lacedæmonians; but fled away after a short Dispute, and were pursu'd with great Slaughter: And if all the Lacedæmonians who were in that Action, had behav'd themselves as well as *Archias* and *Lycopes*, *Samos* had been taken that Day. For these two Men alone of all those who pursu'd the Samians, enter'd the City at their Heels, and finding all Hopes of retreating cut off, died valiantly fighting within the Walls. I remember to have seen one *Archias*, the Son of another of that Name, and Grandson to this *Archias*, in *Pitane*; for he was of that Tribe. This Person esteem'd the Samians above all other Strangers, and said, that the Surname of Samian was given to his Father, because he was

was Son to that *Archias* who fell so gloriously at *Samos*; and that he himself should always pay a peculiar Respect to the Samians, because they had honour'd the Memory of his Grandfather with a magnificent Funeral at the Publick Charge. The Lacedæmonians, after they had been forty Days before *Samos*, and done little towards the Reduction of that Place, rais'd the Siege, and retir'd to *Peloponnesus*; tho' a groundless Report has been rais'd, that *Polycrates* having caus'd a great Number of Pieces made of guilded Lead to be coin'd, purchas'd their Departure with that Money. This was the first Expedition the Dorians undertook against *Asia*, under the Conduct of the Lacedæmonians: After whose Departure, those Samians who had brought this War upon *Polycrates*, finding themselves abandon'd, and their Treasures exhausted, set sail for *Siphnus*. The Affairs of the Siphnians were then in a flourishing Condition, and their Riches immense; the Island so abounding in Mines of Gold and Silver, that the Tenth of the Money they coin'd, transported to *Delphi*, made up a Treasure equal to the greatest: And they never fail'd once every Year to divide the Riches they drew from their Mines. When the Siphnians had amass'd these Treasures, they consulted the Oracle, to know if their Prosperity should long continue, and receiv'd this Answer from the Pythian;

(White,

*When publick Structures should be cloath'd in  
A wise Man's Care should fence against the Rage  
Of wooden Troops, and Red Ambassadors.*

The



The Prytanean Court and Piazza of *Siphnus*, were at that Time adorn'd with white Parian Marble. Yet the Siphnians could not comprehend the Intention of the Oracle, either before, or upon the Landing of the Samians; tho' immediately after their Arrival they sent an Embassy to the City in one of their Ships, which according to the Samian Fashion was colour'd over with Red. And this was the thing meant by the Pythian, when she forwarn'd the Siphnians to beware of a wooden Force and red Ambassadors. These Samians being admitted to an Audience, desir'd a Loan of ten Talents; but receiving a Denial, return'd to their Companions, and ravag'd the Territories of *Siphnus*. Upon which the Siphnians drawing all their Forces together, fought a Battle, and were defeated by the Samians; who took many Prisoners in the Pursuit, by cutting off their Retreat to the City; and receiv'd one hundred Talents for their Ransom. In the next Place, the Samians sail'd to *Hermione*, and instead of Money, receiv'd the Island of *Thyrea*, situate near *Peloponnesus*, which they committed to the Care of the Trœzenians: And afterwards landing in *Crete*, founded the City of *Cydonia*; tho' they came not thither with that Intention, but only to expel the Zacynthians out of the Island. Five Years they continued in this Settlement, attended with such Prosperity, that they built the Temple of *Dictyna*, and all other Temples which remain to this Time in *Cydonia*. But in the sixth Year, they, together with the Cretans, were entirely defeated in a Sea-battle, and utterly subdued by the Æginetes; who took off the Prows of their Ships,

and

and dedicated them in the Temple of *Minerva*. The People of *Ægina* took this terrible Revenge, in Requital for the War, which the Samians under the Conduct of their King *Amphicrates* had made against them, and which had reduc'd both sides to great Extremities. I have been more particular in relating the Affairs of the Samians, because they have three things more considerable than are seen in any other Parts among the Grecians. They have open'd a Way thro' a Mountain, one hundred and fifty Fathom high. The Length of this Passage, which pierces the Hill from one side to the other, contains full seven Stades; and the Height and Breadth, eight Foot each. A Canal twenty Cubits deep, and three Foot broad, runs quite along the side of the Aperture, and serves to convey the Water of a plentiful Spring into the City, thro' various Pipes. *Eupalinus* of *Megara*, the Son of *Naustrophus*, was the Contriver and Director of this Work. The second thing worthy to be observ'd is a Mole of one hundred and twenty Foot in Height, embracing the Harbour, and advancing above two Stades into the Sea. The third, is a Temple, greater than all those I ever saw; and of which the principal Architect was *Rhæcus*, the Son of *Phileus*, a Native of *Samos*. These things have induc'd me to enlarge my Discourse concerning the Samians.

WHILST *Cambyse* the Son of *Cyrus* continu'd delirious in *Ægypt*, two of the Mages, who were Brothers, conspir'd against him. One of these, whose Name was *Patizithes*, had been by *Cambyse* made Governour of his Household during his Absence. This Person being well inform'd of  
the

the Death of *Smerdis*, which was kept private, and known to few of the Persians, (who, for the most Part thought him still alive,) undertook to invade the Throne in the following Manner. He had a Brother, as I said, for his Accomplice ; in shape and Mien perfectly resembling *Smerdis* the Son of *Cyrus*, who had been murder'd by *Cambyfes* ; and bearing the same Name. This Man *Patizithes* instructed in the Part he was to act : and when he had plac'd him in the Throne sent Heralds to all Places, and particularly to the Army in *Ægypt*, commanding them for the future to acknowledge *Smerdis* the Son of *Cyrus* as King of *Persia*, and no longer to obey *Cambyfes*. The Heralds every where perform'd their Office ; and he who was dispatch'd to *Ægypt*, finding *Cambyfes* with his Forces at *Ecbatana* in *Syria*, plac'd himself in the Midst of the Army, and openly proclaim'd the Orders of *Patizithes*. *Cambyfes*, who was present at the Proclamation, believing the Words of the Herald to be true, and imagining *Prexaspes* had treacherously omitted to execute the Order he gave him to kill *Smerdis*, turn'd to him in Anger and said, “ *Prexaspes*, Thou hast not obey'd my Command.” To which *Prexaspes* answer'd, “ SIR, The Words you have heard are false : “ Your Brother *Smerdis* cannot rebel against “ you ; neither can you have any Dispute, “ great or small, with him. I my self put “ your Order in Execution, and buried him “ with my own Hands. If indeed dead Men “ can rise again, then we may expect another “ Rebellion from *Astyages* the Mede : But if the “ Course of things be not alter'd, you have no-  
“ thing



“ thing to fear from your Brother. However  
 “ I am of Opinion we ought to pursue the  
 “ Herald and examine ; who sent him to  
 “ command us to obey King *Smerdis*.” *Camby-*  
*ses* approving his Advice, commanded the Her-  
 ald to be pursued ; and when he was brought  
 back, *Prexaspes*, said he to him ; “ Man, Since  
 “ thou say’st thou art the Messenger of *Smerdis*  
 “ the Son of *Cyrus*, speak the Truth, and thou  
 “ shalt be dismiss’d with Impunity. Did’st thou  
 “ see *Smerdis*, and receive these Orders from his  
 “ Mouth ; or from any one of his Ministers ?  
 “ Truly, answer’d the Herald, I have not seen  
 “ *Smerdis* the Son of *Cyrus* since *Cambyses* de-  
 “ parted for *Ægypt* : But the Mage, whom he  
 “ appointed Governour of his Domestick Affairs,  
 “ gave me these Orders, and told me that *Smer-*  
 “ *dis* the Son of *Cyrus* commanded me to pub-  
 “ lish them here.” This was the plain Truth ;  
 and satisfied *Cambyses* so fully, that, turning to  
*Prexaspes*, he said, “ I am now convinc’d  
 “ that thou did’st obey my Command like an  
 “ honest Man ; and hast no Part in this Event :  
 “ But what Persian can this be, who has re-  
 “ volted against me, and assum’d the Name of  
 “ *Smerdis* ? O King, replied *Prexaspes*, I think  
 “ I understand the Intrigue : The Conspira-  
 “ tors are the two Mages, *Patizithes* Go-  
 “ vernour of the Houshold, and his Brother  
 “ *Smerdis*.” The mention of that Name deeply  
 affected *Cambyses*, and reviv’d the Memory of  
 his Dream ; in which he had seen a Messen-  
 ger, who came to acquaint him, that *Smerdis*  
 was plac’d in the Royal Throne, and touch’d  
 the Heavens with his Head. Reflecting how  
 unjustly he had destroy’d his Brother, he wept ;  
 and

and after he had lamented him, and bitterly complain'd of his own Calamity, he mounted his Horse, with a Resolution to return in all Diligence to *Susa*, and make War against the Mage. But as he mounted his Horse, his Sword fell out of the Scabbard, and wounded him on the Thigh, in that Part where he had formerly struck the Ægyptian God *Apis*. *Cambyfes* being thus wounded ask'd the Name of the City, and was inform'd that the Place was call'd *Ecbatana*. He had formerly receiv'd an Oracle from *Butus*, that he should end his Life in the City of *Ecbatana*; and therefore imagin'd he should dye an old Man in the Place of that Name in *Media*, where all his Treasures were; but the Oracle meant no other than the Syrian *Ecbatana*. Thus having heard the Name of the City; tho' vex'd with the Injury of the Mage, and afflicted with his Wound, he recover'd his Understanding; and rightly interpreting the Sense of the Oracle, said, " Fate has decreed  
 " that *Cambyfes* the Son of *Cyrus* shall dye in  
 " this Place." These Words he said at that Time; and about twenty Days after, having assembled all the principal Men of the Persians who were with him, he spoke to them in these Terms. " I am necessitated to acquaint you  
 " with a thing, which above all others I desir'd to conceal. When I was in *Ægypt* I  
 " saw a Vision in a Dream, which I wish I  
 " had never seen, representing a Messenger arriv'd from *Persia* with Tydings, that *Smerdis* was seated on the Royal Throne, and  
 " touch'd the Heavens with his Head. Induc'd  
 " by this Dream I fear'd my Brother would deprive me of the Kingdom, and acted with  
 " more

“ more Precipitation than Prudence: For no  
 “ human Power is able to frustrate the Decrees  
 “ of Fate. I foolishly sent *Prexaspes* to *Susa*  
 “ with Orders to kill *Smerdis*; and have liv’d  
 “ in the profoundest Security since the Execu-  
 “ tion of that Crime; not at all suspecting  
 “ that any Mortal would rebel against me, after  
 “ I had remov’d him out of the World. But I  
 “ find my self utterly mistaken; I have mur-  
 “ der’d my Brother in vain, and nevertheless am  
 “ depriv’d of the Kingdom. For the God, who  
 “ sent me that Vision, meant no other Person  
 “ than *Smerdis* the Mage, when he admonish’d  
 “ me that *Smerdis* would invade my Throne.  
 “ Since then I have inform’d you that I am guilt-  
 “ ty of this Crime, you are not to imagine  
 “ that *Smerdis* the Son of *Cyrus* is living; but  
 “ that two Mages (I mean *Patizithes* and  
 “ *Smerdis*) have taken Possession of the King-  
 “ dom: The first of these I appointed Gover-  
 “ nour of my Household during my Absence,  
 “ and the other is Brother to him. Now be-  
 “ cause he, who of right should have reveng’d  
 “ the Indignity I suffer from the Mages, is pre-  
 “ vented by the Inhumanity of his nearest Re-  
 “ lation; I think my self oblig’d in this Exi-  
 “ gency to let you know what I would have  
 “ you do for me after my Death. In the first  
 “ Place I command, by the Gods of the Royal  
 “ Family adjure you all, especially those among  
 “ you who are of the Achæmenian Blood,  
 “ never to permit the Government to return  
 “ into the Hands of the Medes: And if at any  
 “ Time they should usurp the supreme Power  
 “ by Artifice, to use the like Means to reco-  
 “ ver it; or if they should acquire the Do-  
 “ minion



“ minion by Arms, then likewise to wrest it  
 “ from them by Arms. On this Condition,  
 “ may the Earth furnish you with uninterrupted  
 “ Plenty; may your Wives bring you many  
 “ Children; your Herds and Flocks increase;  
 “ and your Liberty remain inviolable for ever.  
 “ But if you neglect to preserve or recover  
 “ your Superiority over the Medes, may the  
 “ contrary Imprecations overtake you, and  
 “ every one of the Persians end his Life as un-  
 “ happily as I. When *Cambyfes* had finish’d  
 these Words, he again passionately lamented  
 the Death of *Smerdis*; and all the Persians see-  
 ing their King so deeply afflicted, wept abun-  
 dantly, and tore their Garments in Pieces. But  
 in a little Time his Wound corrupting the Bone,  
 caus’d a Mortification in his Thigh, and put an  
 End to the Life of *Cambyfes* the Son of *Cyrus*,  
 after he had reign’d seven Years and five Months;  
 having never had any Children of either Sex.  
 He was no sooner dead, than the Persians who  
 had accompanied him, began to enter into a  
 violent Suspicion, that whatever he had said  
 concerning the Usurpation of the Mages and the  
 Death of his Brother, was fictitious, and con-  
 triv’d by *Cambyfes* with Design to render all the  
 Persians Enemies to *Smerdis*. This Incredulity  
 easily wrought them into a Persuasion, that  
*Smerdis* the Son of *Cyrus* was really the Person  
 who had taken Possession of the Kingdom: And  
*Prexaspes* contributed not a little to this Delu-  
 sion, by denying utterly that he had kill’d *Smer-*  
*dis*. For indeed, after the Death of *Cambyfes* he  
 could not safely own, that he had murder’d the  
 Son of *Cyrus* with his own Hand.

THE Mage *Smerdis*, by pretending to be the Son of *Cyrus*, reign'd without Disturbance during the seven Months that remain'd to compleat the eighth Year of *Cambyfes* ; in which Time he treated the People with such Beneficence, that all the Nations of *Asia*, the Persians only excepted, express'd their Sorrow at his Death. For upon his Accession to the Throne, he dispatch'd Orders thro' all Parts of his Dominions, to proclaim a general Exemption from Tribute and Military Services for the Space of three Years. But in the eighth Month he was discover'd in this Manner. *Otanes* the Son of *Pharnaspes*, a Man equal to the greatest of the Persians both in Fortune and Blood, was the first who suspected him to be an Impostor, and not the Son of *Cyrus* ; because he never went out of the Castle, nor admitted any of the principal Men of *Persia* to his Presence. In this Suspicion he contriv'd the following Artifice, in order to discover the Truth. His Daughter *Phædyma* had been one of the Wives of *Cambyfes*, and was kept, as all the rest were, for the Use of *Smerdis*. To her therefore he sent a Message, to acquaint her, that he desir'd to know, whether the Person she lay with, was *Smerdis* the Son of *Cyrus*, or some other Man: And receiving for Answer, that having never seen *Smerdis* the Son of *Cyrus*, she could not inform him with whom she lay ; he sent to her a second Time to desire, that since she could not resolve his Doubt, she would ask *Atossa*, who he was that lay with both ; being fully persuaded that she must of Necessity know her own Brother. But his Daughter let him know, that she was not permitted to speak to

*Atossa*, or to see any of the other Women; because the King, whoever he was, had from the Beginning of his Reign dispers'd all his Wives into distinct and separate Apartments. This Answer much increasing the Suspicion of *Otanes*, he sent a third Message to *Phædyma* in these Words. " Daughter, Being descended of an  
 " illustrious Family, you ought to undertake  
 " the most hazardous Enterprize, in Obedience  
 " to the Commands of your Father. If this  
 " *Smerdis* is not the Son of *Cyrus* but the  
 " Person I suspect him to be; he is so far  
 " from being worthy to possess the Persian King-  
 " dom, or your Person, that he ought not to  
 " escape without exemplary Punishment. Fol-  
 " low therefore my Advice; and when you lye  
 " by him, and perceive him to sleep, carry your  
 " Hand to his Head, and if you find he has  
 " Ears, be assur'd he is the Son of *Cyrus*;   
 " but if he has none, he can be no other than  
 " *Smerdis* the Mage ". To this Message *Phæ-  
 dyma* answer'd, that the Danger was exceed-  
 ing great; because if the King had no Ears,  
 and should surprize her endeavouring to find  
 out such a Truth, he would not fail to kill  
 her: Nevertheless she would make the Attempt,  
 and take upon her to satisfy the Doubt of her  
 Father touching this *Smerdis*, (whose Ears had  
 been formerly cut off, for a Reason of Impor-  
 tance, by *Cyrus* the Son of *Cambyfes*.) In Pursu-  
 ance therefore of her Promise, *Phædyma* the  
 Daughter of *Otanes*, carefully executed the Or-  
 ders of her Father; and going in her Turn to the  
 King's Bed, as the Manner of the Persian Wo-  
 men is, she no sooner perceiv'd him to sleep pro-  
 foundly, than she easily discover'd by her Hand  
 that



that the Man had no Ears ; and early the next Morning sent an Account to her Father of what she had done. *Otanes* having receiv'd this Information, communicated the whole Affair to *Gobrias* and *Aspathines*, Persians of the first Rank, and of undoubted Honour : Who, because they had entertain'd the same Suspicion before, readily assented to the Judgment made by *Otanes*, and came to an Agreement with him, that each of the three should nominate one of his most trusty Friends among the Persians, to be admitted to a Participation of their Counsels. Pursuant to this Resolution, *Otanes* made Choice of *Intaphernes*, *Gobryas* of *Megabysus*, and *Aspathines* of *Hydarnes*. In the mean Time *Darius* the Son of *Hystaspes* arriving in *Susa* from *Persia*, where his Father was Governour, the six Persians resolv'd to admit him into their Society. And now being seven in Number, they met together ; and after mutual Assurances of Fidelity, enter'd into a Debate touching the thing in question. But when *Darius* came to speak in his Turn; he said. “ I thought no Man, except my self, had known that the Kingdom is usurp'd by a Mage, and that *Smerdis* the Son of *Cyrus* is dead: and therefore I came to this Place with a Resolution to kill the Usurper. But since I find that you also are inform'd of this Indignity, my Opinion is, to dispatch the Enterprize with all Expedition, because Delays in such a Conjunction are not safe. Son of *Hystaspes*, said *Otanes*, thou art born of a magnanimous Father, and thy Courage is not inferior to thy Birth ; yet forbear to act inconsiderately, and attempt nothing without due Caution : For I think we

“ ought not to undertake this Enterprize with-  
 “ out augmenting our Number.” *Darius* replied,  
 “ Believe me Friends, if you follow the Ad-  
 “ vice of *Otanes*, you will all inevitably perish :  
 “ For one or other will not fail to discover the  
 “ Conspiracy to the Mage for private Advantage:  
 “ And indeed you alone, who first form’d the  
 “ Design, ought to have put it in Execution im-  
 “ mediately: But since you have thought fit to  
 “ communicate your Intentions to a greater  
 “ Number, and to me among others; let us  
 “ make the Attempt this Day; or be assur’d,  
 “ that if you let go the present Occasion, I  
 “ will prevent any other from accusing me, and  
 “ accuse you all to the Mage. *Otanes* perceiv-  
 ing *Darius* so pressing; “ Since then, said he,  
 “ we are necessitated to precipitate our Enter-  
 “ prize, and not permitted to defer the Execu-  
 “ tion, pray tell us in what Manner we shall  
 “ enter the Palace; which, as you know, or  
 “ at least have heard, is defended by Guards  
 “ plac’d in all the Passages; and I desire to be  
 “ inform’d how we shall force them.” *Darius*  
 answer’d, “ Some things, *Otanes*, may be ex-  
 “ plain’d by Action, that cannot be demon-  
 “ strated in Words; while other things, which  
 “ seem easy in Discourse, produce no confi-  
 “ derable Effect in the Execution. No Man  
 “ here can imagine that we shall find any great  
 “ Difficulty in passing the Guards; because  
 “ our Quality is such, that every one either  
 “ from a Motive of Reverence or Dread will  
 “ presently give us Way. Besides, I am fur-  
 “ nish’d with a Pretext which cannot fail to re-  
 “ move all Obstructions: For I will say I come  
 “ directly from *Persia* and bring a Message  
 “ to

“ to the King from my Father. Falsehood  
 “ may take Place, when Truth ought not to  
 “ be spoken, and when Men aim at the same  
 “ thing by both. Some make use of an Un-  
 “ truth, in order to persuade to advantageous  
 “ things; whilst others on the contrary speak  
 “ the Truth, that they may obtain the same  
 “ End: And thus by different Ways we com-  
 “ pass the same Designs. But if we succeed not  
 “ there will be little Difference between Truth  
 “ and Falsehood. As for the Guards, they  
 “ who willingly permit us to pass, shall be  
 “ rewarded in due Time; but whoever offers  
 “ to resist, must be treated as an Enemy; till  
 “ we have forc’d our Passage, and finish’d our En-  
 “ terprize.” To this *Gobryas* added, “ Friends,  
 “ ’twill be more glorious for us Persians to re-  
 “ cover the Sovereign Power, or dye in the  
 “ Attempt, than to be subject to a Mage of  
 “ *Media* without Ears. Those among you,  
 “ who attended *Cambyfes* during his Sickness,  
 “ well remember the Imprecations he utter’d  
 “ at the Point of Death against the Persians, if  
 “ they should neglect to use their utmost En-  
 “ deavours to repossess themselves of the King-  
 “ dom; tho’ his Discourse made little Impres-  
 “ sion upon us at that Time, because we ima-  
 “ gin’d he spoke out of Hatred to his Bro-  
 “ ther. Therefore I concur with the Opinion  
 “ of *Darius*, and think we ought not to sepa-  
 “ rate under any Pretext; but immediately up-  
 “ on the breaking up of this Meeting go directly  
 “ to the Mage:” Which Proposal was unani-  
 mously approv’d.

WHILST they were concerting this Attempt,  
 the Mages consulted together, and contriv’d to



engage *Prexaspes* in their Interests; as well because he had been illus'd by *Cambyfes*, who shot his Son dead with an Arrow; as because he alone of all the Persians knew certainly that *Smerdis* the Son of *Cyrus* was not living; having dispatch'd him with his own Hand: And besides this, he had acquir'd a general Esteem among the Persians. For these Reasons they sent to *Prexaspes*, and having obtain'd a Promise of his Friendship, they oblig'd him to give his Word confirm'd by an Oath, that he would be silent, and never discover to any Man the Fraud they had put upon the Persians: Assuring him in Consideration of this Service, they would add Millions to his present Riches. When the Magcs had persuaded *Prexaspes* to promise the Performance of these things, they acquainted him farther that having determin'd to assemble all the Persians under the Walls of the Palace they desir'd he would ascend a certain Tower, and from thence publickly proclaim, That *Smerdis* the Son of *Cyrus* and no other Person was the King then reigning. This Command they laid upon him, because they not only knew he was a Man of principal Authority among the Persians; but also that he had frequently affirm'd with great Asseveration, that *Smerdis* the Son of *Cyrus* was still living, and utterly denied that he had kill'd him. The Magcs having thus induc'd *Prexaspes* to take upon him this Office, and summon'd the Persians together, commanded him to mount the Tower and from thence to harangue the Assembly. But he, willing to forget the Words they had desir'd him to speak, began his Discourse with the Genealogy of *Cyrus*, which he deduc'd from  
*Achæmenes*

*Achæmenes* in the male Line ; and afterwards put them in mind of the great Benefits the Persian Nation had receiv'd from that King. When he had finish'd this Part, he confess'd the whole Truth ; and told them, that the Apprehensions he had of the Hazards he must inevitably run by publishing the Fraud, had constrain'd him to conceal it so long ; but now seeing the Necessity of discovering the Secret, he acknowledg'd, that he had been compell'd by *Cambyfes* to take away the Life of *Smerdis* the Son of *Cyrus*, and that the present Possessor of the Kingdom was no other than a Mage. Then fulminating many Imprecations against the Persians, if they should neglect to recover the Sovereignty and punish the Mages, he precipitated himself head long from the Tower. Thus died *Prexapes*, a Man highly esteem'd during the Course of his whole Life.

IN the mean Time the seven Persians having determin'd to execute their Design against the Mages without Delay, went to implore the Assistance of the Gods ; and in the Midst of their Way were inform'd of all that *Prexapes* had said and done ; which obliging them to retire and confer together, *Otanes* earnestly exhorted them to deter the Enterprize, and not to attempt any thing in the present Disorder of Affairs : But *Darius* still insisting upon immediate Execution, and rejecting all Propositions of Delay, the Dispute grew warm ; and as they were contending, seven Hawks appear'd pursuing two Vulturs in the Air, pulling and tearing them to pieces : Which when the seven Persians observ'd, they accepted the Omen ; fell in with the Opinion of *Darius*, and march'd directly to the Palace ; where they no

sooner arriv'd than they found his Conjecture verified. For the Guards respecting their Dignity, and no way doubting such a Design from Persons of their Rank and Figure, permitted them to pass without asking any Question. But when they enter'd the Hall, the Eunuchs who attended to receive Messages began to enquire what Business they had there; and threatening the Guards for permitting them to pass, put themselves into a Posture of Resistance, if they should attempt to proceed farther. Then the seven Persians animating each other, drew their Swords; kill'd all that oppos'd their Passage, and in an Instant penetrated to an inner Room where the two Mages were consulting about the late Action of *Prexaspes*; who, when they heard the Exclamations and Tumult of the Eunuchs, went together to the Door, and perceiving what was doing, resolv'd to have recourse to Arms. To that End, one of them taking up a Bow, and the other a Javelin, they began to engage in the Combat: He who had the Bow, soon found that Weapon of no Use in so close an Action; but the other with his Javelin wounded *Aspathines* in the Thigh, and struck out the Eye of *Intaphernes*, tho' the Wound was not mortal. Thus one of the Mages wounded two of the Persians; whilst he who found his Bow useless, ran to a Bed-chamber adjoining to the Place where they fought, with Design to shut the Door upon himself; but was so closely pursued by *Darius* and *Gobryas*, that they broke into the Chamber with him: And as *Gobryas* was struggling with the Mage, *Darius* stood still, doubting how to direct his Blow in the dark: Which

*Gobryas*



*Gobryas* perceiving, and asking why he held his Hand; *Darius* answer'd, because he fear'd he might hurt him; "Push, Push, said *Gobryas*, "tho' you strike thro' the Bodies of both." Upon this *Darius* resolv'd to put all to the venture, and by good Fortune kill'd the Mage. When the seven had dispatch'd the Mages, they cut off their Heads; and leaving the two Persians who were wounded, to secure the Palace, because they could not be serviceable elsewhere, the other five carrying the Heads of the Mages, march'd out with great Tumult and Exclamation; and calling to the Persians, related what they had done; shew'd them the Heads; and kill'd all the Mages they found in their Way. The Persians were no sooner inform'd of what had pass'd, and of the Deceit of the Mages, than they likewise resolving to act in Conformity to the seven, kill'd every Mage they met; and if Night coming on had not prevented, no one of that Order had been left alive. All the Persians celebrate this Day with the greatest Solemnity, and call the Festival by the Name of *Magophonia*, or *The Slaughter of the Mages*. On that Day no Mage may be seen abroad; but every one of them is constrain'd to shut himself up in his own House.

FIVE Days after this Tumult, those who had been concern'd in the Attempt against the Mages, met to consult about the Government, and made the following Speeches; notwithstanding some among the Grecians fondly imagine they are fictitious. *Otanes* opening the Conference with an Exhortation to the rest that they would establish a Commonwealth in *Persia*, said; "My  
" Opinion is, that we ought not to entrust the  
" supreme

“ supreme Power with any single Person among  
 “ us ; because a Monarchical Government is  
 “ neither good nor safe. You know to what  
 “ Excesses *Cambyfes* was transported, and have  
 “ sufficiently experienc’d the Insolence of a  
 “ Mage. And indeed how can that Govern-  
 “ ment be well administer’d, where one Man  
 “ may do all things with Impunity; and in  
 “ which even the best are easily tempted by  
 “ an exorbitant Power to abandon the Virtues  
 “ they had acquir’d? A Man, made Insolent  
 “ by Greatness, and naturally envious like other  
 “ Men, cannot but be compleatly vicious:  
 “ For Insolence, in Conjunction with Envy,  
 “ pushes Men on to many nefarious Actions.  
 “ One would think a Tyrant should not be  
 “ envious, because he possesses such eminent  
 “ Advantages above other Men; but Expe-  
 “ rience demonstrates the contrary. He envies  
 “ the best, and favours the worst Men of  
 “ the Nation: He hearkens to Calumny with  
 “ Pleasure; and his Conduct is so irregular,  
 “ that if any one commend him modestly, he  
 “ grows angry, and thinks he is not treated  
 “ with sufficient Reverence: On the other  
 “ Hand if he be highly admir’d, he is no  
 “ less offended, because he suspects he is flat-  
 “ ter’d. In things of greater Importance he  
 “ is yet more intolerable. He overthrows  
 “ the Orders and Customs of the Country;  
 “ violates the Chastity of Women; and murders  
 “ the Innocent unheard. But a popular Go-  
 “ vernment deservedly bears the charming Name  
 “ of Equality, and is never guilty of those  
 “ Excesses that are the constant Attendants of  
 “ Monarchy. The Magistrates are appointed  
 “ by

“ by Election ; every Officer is oblig’d to give  
 “ an Account of his Administration, and all  
 “ Resolutions are pass’d by common Consent.  
 “ My Opinion therefore is, that we ought to  
 “ reject Monarchy, and establish a popular Go-  
 “ vernment : For no valuable Quality can be  
 “ wanting in a numerous Assembly.” When  
*Otanes* had thus deliver’d his Opinion, *Megaby-*  
*zus* spoke next ; and recommending an \*Oligar-  
 chy to their Choice, said, “ I readily concur with  
 “ *Otanes* in the Advice he has given to abolish  
 “ the Tyranny ; but to counsel us to confer the  
 “ whole Power upon the Multitude, is, as I  
 “ conceive, a wide Deviation from the right  
 “ Way. For nothing can be imagin’d more  
 “ foolish and arrogant than the Vulgar ; and  
 “ therefore nothing can be more extravagant,  
 “ than that we , who are endeavouring to avoid  
 “ the Insolence of a Tyrant, should give our  
 “ selves up to serve the Petulancy of a capricious  
 “ Multitude. A Tyrant knows what he does ;  
 “ but the Populace is brutally ignorant : For  
 “ how should they know any thing, who are  
 “ bred under no Discipline ; and have no Idea of  
 “ Virtue, or even of common Order ; precipi-  
 “ tating all their Actions with a Fury resembling  
 “ an impetuous Torrent ? Let those then who  
 “ desire the Ruin of the Persians, promote the  
 “ Establishment of a popular State : As for me,  
 “ I am of Opinion that we ought to place the  
 “ Sovereign Authority in a select Council of  
 “ the best Men ; both because we our selves  
 “ shall be of their Number, and because in all  
 “ Appearance the best Men will give the best  
 “ Advice.” After *Megabyzus* had thus spoken,  
*Darius*

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\* i. e. Government in the Hands of a Few.



*Darius* declar'd his Judgment in these Terms.  
 “ The things which have been said by *Megabyfus*  
 “ against a popular Government, seem to me ve-  
 “ ry just and right ; but I cannot approve his  
 “ Opinion touching the excellency of an Oligar-  
 “ chy ; because I think a Monarchy preferable  
 “ either to that, or to a popular State, supposing  
 “ the Powers in each be perfectly well admini-  
 “ ster'd. Certainly nothing can be imagin'd  
 “ more excellent than the Government of a sin-  
 “ gle Person, if he be compleatly virtuous : For  
 “ such a Man will govern the People without  
 “ departing from the Rules of Equity, and lock  
 “ up the Secret of his Designs from the Know-  
 “ ledge of all Enemies. Whereas in an Oligar-  
 “ chy, whilst many are contending to surpass  
 “ each other in advancing the publick Service,  
 “ private Enmities will frequently and unavoida-  
 “ bly arise : And every Man being willing to be  
 “ the principal Manager, and desirous to see  
 “ his own Opinions prevail, Animosities of the  
 “ most dangerous Consequence must necessarily  
 “ ensue. From this Source Seditions arise ;  
 “ from Sedition Murder ; and from mutual  
 “ Murders things naturally tend to Monarchy :  
 “ Which is sufficient to prove this Kind of  
 “ Government highly preferable to any other.  
 “ On the other Hand, in a popular State, ill  
 “ Designs will certainly be sometimes form'd  
 “ against the Publick ; and when that happens,  
 “ they will not produce Enmity, but the  
 “ strongest Ties of mutual Friendship and  
 “ Confidence ; for such Men always conceal  
 “ one another : Till at last some Person of  
 “ great Authority with the Multitude, puts  
 “ himself at their Head, and stops the Pro-  
 “ ceedings

“ceedings of the Conspirators: Which this  
 “admir’d Man has no sooner done, than he be-  
 “comes a real Monarch, and shews by his Ex-  
 “ample the Excellency of monarchical Govern-  
 “ment. To finish all in a Word; From what  
 “Cause, and by whose Means were we made a  
 “free Nation? Did we receive our Liberties  
 “from the People; from a few select Persons;  
 “or from a Monarch? My Opinion therefore  
 “is, that since we were deliver’d from Servi-  
 “tude by a single Person, we would resolve to  
 “confirm that Kind of Government, and not  
 “to alter the Custom of our Country which has  
 “been so advantageous to us: For we should not  
 “find our Account in the Change.” After these  
 three Opinions had been propos’d, four of the  
 seven embrac’d that of *Darius*; and *Otanes*,  
 who had endeavour’d to introduce an equal Re-  
 publick, finding his Sentiment overrul’d by  
 Number, concluded with these Words, “Since  
 “you have discover’d your factious Design,  
 “and have determin’d that one of us shall be  
 “King, either by the Chance of a Lot, or  
 “the Election of the Persian Multitude, or  
 “by some other Way, I will not be your  
 “Competitor, because I resolve neither to go-  
 “vern nor be govern’d; but quit all my Right,  
 “on Condition that neither I nor any of my  
 “Posterity may be accounted Subjects.” When  
 he had said this, and the six had consented to  
 his Demand, *Otanes* retir’d without more dis-  
 pute; and his Descendants alone of all the Per-  
 sians retain their Liberty to this Day; being  
 no farther subject to the King than they think  
 convenient, and only oblig’d to conform to the  
 Customs and Manners of the Country. After

his Departure, the other six enter'd into a Deliberation touching the most equitable Manner of constituting a King; and in the first Place resolv'd, that if any one of their Number obtain'd the Kingdom, *Otanes*, and his Posterity after him, should every Year receive a Median Vest, accompanied with all other Presents which are accounted most honourable among the Persians. These Advantages they conferr'd upon him; because he had been the Author of the Enterprize against the Mage, and brought them together into this Association. In the next Place, they determin'd that the seven should have full Liberty to enter into all the Apartments of the Palace without being introduc'd; unless the King should happen to be in Bed with one of his Women; and that he should not be permitted to marry a Wife out of any other Family, than of the Associated seven. Then taking the future Election into their Consideration, they all agreed, that they would mount on Horseback, and ride to the Suburbs the next Morning upon the Rising of the Sun; and that he, whose Horse should be heard to neigh first, should be declar'd King. In this Resolution the Assembly parted, and *Darius* was no sooner return'd Home, than calling for *Oebares*, who had the Charge of his Horses, and was a Man of Ingenuity, he said to him, “ *Oebares*, We have determin'd to dispose of  
 “ the Kingdom in this Manner: He, whose  
 “ Horse shall neigh first after the Rising of the  
 “ Sun, is to have the Sovereign Power. Now  
 “ therefore, if thou hast any Invention, ex-  
 “ cite thy Talent, that I may obtain this Glo-  
 “ ry, with the Exclusion of all other Persons.”

“ SIR,



“ SIR, answer’d *Oebares*, if nothing else b<sup>c</sup>  
 “ wanting to make you King, take Courage  
 “ and be no Way disturb’d; for I know a Secret  
 “ which will certainly prove effectual, and ex-  
 “ clude all your Competitors. It thou hast such  
 “ a Secret, said *Darius*, ’tis time to use it with-  
 “ out Delay; for the Trial is to be made to-  
 “ Morrow”. *Oebares* having heard this, depar-  
 ted; and when Night came, he led a Mare,  
 which the Horse of *Darius* lov’d, to the Suburbs,  
 and tied her up: Then he brought his Master’s  
 Horse thither also; and after he had led him se-  
 veral Times round the Mare, and suffer’d him to  
 stand in the same Place, he at last let him cover  
 her. The next Morning at Day-break the six  
 Persians appearing on Horseback pursuant to their  
 Resolution, rode about the Suburbs; and as  
 they pass’d by that Part where the Mare had  
 been tied the preceding Night, the Horse of  
*Darius* ran to the Place, and neigh’d; which  
 he had no sooner done, than Flashes of Lighten-  
 ing were seen issuing from a clear Sky, and fol-  
 low’d by a clap of Thunder. This happen’d for-  
 tunately to *Darius*, as if Heaven had consented  
 to his Advancement, and put an End to the Dis-  
 pute; all his Competitors dismounting from  
 their Horses, and adoring him as King. This  
 Account is most commonly given of the Artifice  
 us’d by *Oebares*: But others say (and the Persians  
 relate the Story both Ways) that having rubb’d  
 his Hand upon the genital Part of the Mare,  
 he kept it warm under his Garment; and that  
 after the Rising of the Sun, when the Horses  
 were ready to set forward, *Oebares* drew out  
 his Hand, and stroak’d the Nostrils of his Ma-  
 ster’s Horse; who taking the Scent, began  
 to

to snort and neigh immediately after. However this be, *Darius* the Son of *Hystaspes* was declar'd King, and all the People of *Asia* submitted to his Government, except the Arabians, who tho' they had been conquer'd by *Cyrus*, and afterwards by *Cambyfes*, were never reduc'd to the Condition of Subjects by the Persians, but were accounted their Friends, and gave them a free Passage into *Ægypt*; which they could not have compass'd without their Permission and Assistance. The first Persian Wives of *Darius* were, the two Daughters of *Cyrus*, *Atossa* and *Artystona*. The former had been Wife to her Brother *Cambyfes*, and also to the Mage; but *Artystona* was a Virgin. To these he added *Parmys*, the Daughter of *Smerdis* the Son of *Cyrus*; together with that Daughter of *Otanes*, who detected the Mage: And having taken due Care to establish his Power, he order'd a Statue of Stone to be erected, representing a Man sitting on Horseback, and bearing this Inscription, *DARIUS THE SON OF HYSTASPES OBTAIN'D THE KINGDOM OF PERSIA BY THE VIGOUR OF HIS HORSE* (here the Name of the Horse was read) *AND BY THE ART OF OEBARES MASTER OF HIS STABLES*. Having done this, he divided his Dominions into twenty Provinces, or *Satrapies*, and constituted a Governour in each Division. Then he appointed the Tribute, which every Nation should be oblig'd to pay into his Treasury; in some Places uniting to those Nations the Inhabitants of the adjacent Regions; but in other Parts omitting the contiguous Countries, and joyning together divers separated Districts under the same Government.

When

When he had settled the Provincial Tribute, he farther ordain'd, that all those who brought their Portion in Silver, should make their Payments by the Babylonian Talent, which is equal to seventy Eubœan Mines; and those who paid in Gold, should bring in their Part by the Standard of the Eubœan Talent. During the Reign of *Cyrus* no Tributes were impos'd, nor even afterwards under *Cambyſes*; but the People made voluntary Presents to the King: And therefore from the Establishment of these Taxes, and other things of like Nature, the Persians say *Darius* was a mere Trader, *Cambyſes* a Master, and *Cyrus* a Father to the Country. For *Darius* made Profit of every thing; *Cambyſes* was Morose and Haughty; but *Cyrus* was Mild, and always contriving to render the People happy. The Ionians, and Asiatick Magnesians, with the Æolians, Carians, Erycians, Melyans, and Pamphylians; were appointed to pay a Tribute of four hundred Talents in Silver, and compos'd the first Satrapy. The Mysians, Lydians, Alysonians, Cabalians, and Hygenians; were the second, and paid five hundred Talents of Silver. The Countries that lye on the right Hand of those who sail thro' the *Helleſpont*, together with the Phrygians, Asiatick Thracians, Paphlagonians, Mariandenians and Syrians, paid three hundred and sixty Talents; and made up the third Government. The Cilicians were the fourth; and furnish'd *Darius* with three hundred and sixty white Horses; that is, one for every Day of the Year; besides five hundred Talents in Silver; a hundred and forty of which were consum'd in that Part of *Cilicia*, where those Horses were kept,



and the remaining three hundred and sixty were paid into the Treasury. The fifth comprehended all the Countries that lye extended from the City of *Posideum*, built in the Mountains of *Cilicia* and *Syria* by *Amphilochus* the Son of *Amphiaraus*, down to *Ægypt*, excepting only the Arabian Territories, which are free from any Tribute: This Portion, containing all *Phœnicia*, the *Palæstine Syria*, and *Cyprus*, was tax'd at three hundred and fifty Talents. *Ægypt*, and those Parts of *Lybia* which border upon *Ægypt*, together with *Cyrene* and *Barca*, made up the sixth Government, and contributed seven hundred Talents, besides the Revenue arising from the Fishery of the Lake *Myris*; and a sufficient Quantity of Corn for one hundred and twenty thousand Persians and their Auxiliaries, who had their Station within the white Wall of *Memphis*. The seventh Satrapy consisting of the Sattagydiens, Gandarians, Dadicians and Apparites, paid one hundred and seventy Talents. *Susa* and the rest of the Cissians were the eighth, and contributed three hundred. A thousand Talents of Silver, and five hundred young Eunuchs, were furnish'd yearly by the City of *Babylon*, and other Parts of *Assyria*: This was the ninth Division. *Ecbatana* and the rest of *Media*, with the Paricanians and Orthocorybantes, were the tenth, and paid a Tribute of four hundred and fifty Talents. The Caspians, Pautics, Pantimatians, and Darites, contributed two hundred Talents, and compos'd the eleventh Satrapy. The twelfth, which extended from the Bactrians to the *Æglans*, brought in three hundred and sixty Talents. The City of *Pactya* with the Armenians, and other neighbouring Parts,  
down

down to the *Euxine Sea*, made the thirteenth Government, and was order'd to pay four hundred Talents. The fourteenth consisted of the Sagar-tians, Sarangæans, Thamanæans, Utians, Me-cians, and those who inhabit the Islands of the *Red Sea*, where banish'd Persons were confin'd by the King; all these together were oblig'd to bring in six hundred Talents. The fifteenth, comprehending the Saces and Caspians, paid two hundred and fifty. The Parthians, Chorasmians, Sogdians, and Arians, were the sixteenth Government, and furnish'd three hundred Talents. Four hundred were requir'd from the Paricanians, and Asiatick Æthiopians, who made the seventeenth Division. The eighteenth consisting of the Mantienians, Sasperi-ans, and Alarodians, brought in two hundred Talents. The Moschians, Tibarenians, Macro-nians, Mosinæcians, and Mardians, were enjoyn-ed to pay three hundred Talents, and compos'd the nineteenth Satrapy. The Indians were the twentieth; and as they are more nume-rous than any other People we know, the Tri-bute charg'd upon them was proportionably great: For they were oblig'd to bring in yearly three hundred and sixty Talents of Gold. Now, if the Babylonian Talent be reduc'd to the Foot of the Eubœan, we shall find in this Account nine thousand five hundred and forty Talents: And if we esteem the Gold to be worth thirteen Times its Weight in Silver, the Sum will a-mount to four thousand six hundred and eighty Eubœan Talents. All this computed together, shews that *Darius* receiv'd the yearly Tribute of fourteen thousand five hundred and sixty Talents of the Eubœan Value; besides other

Sums of less Consequence: which I forbear to mention. These Revenues were paid to *Darius* by the Inhabitants of *Asia*, and a small Part of *Libya*: But in succeeding Times another Tribute was laid upon the Islands, and divers Parts of *Europe* as far as *Thessaly*. The King preserves his Treasures in this Manner: He causes the Metals to be melted down, and pour'd into earthen Pots: Which done the Vessels are broken, and when Occasion requires, so much is cut off as seems necessary. Thus the several Governments and Tributes were establish'd.

A M O N G the tributary Countries I have not mention'd *Persia*; because the Lands of the Persians are free from all Taxes. But the *Æthiopians*, who border upon *Ægypt*, and were conquer'd by *Cambyses* in his Expedition against the *Macrobian*s; together with those who inhabit the sacred City of *Nysa*, and celebrate the Festival of *Bacchus*; are not enjoyn'd to pay Tribute, but send a yearly Present to the King. These *Æthiopians* and the adjoining People, who live in subterraneous Dwellings, and use the same Grain with the *Calantian* Indians, make a Present every third Year of two Choenix's of unrefin'd Gold; two hundred Bundles of Ebony; five *Æthiopian* Children; and twenty Elephants Teeth of the largest Size: Which Custom they continue to this Day. The *Colchians* were also number'd among those who gave Presents; with the Nations that lye between their Country and Mount *Caucasus*: For so far the Dominions of *Persia* extend. But the People who inhabit the North side of that Mountain, yield no Obedience to the Persian Power. The Present sent by the *Colchians*, consisting of one hundred



hundred Boys and the same Number of Virgins, was deliver'd every fifth Year. These Gifts and a thousand Talents of Frankincense presented yearly by the Arabians, were brought in to the King, over and above the ordinary Tribute.

I shall now explain in what Manner the Indians collect that great Quantity of Gold, which serves to pay the Tribute impos'd upon them by the King. That Part of *India* which faces the Rising Sun is cover'd with Sand; and of all the People who inhabit *Asia*, and are known to us by certain Information, the Indians are plac'd in the most eastwardly Situation. The Country which most advances towards the East, is rendred desert by the Sands. The Indians consist of many Nations, and speak different Languages; some apply themselves to the keeping of Cattle, and others not. Some inhabit the Morasses of the River, and feed upon raw Fish, which they take in Boats compos'd of Reeds parted at the Joint. These Indians wear Garments made of Rushes, which they cut in the River; and interlacing together, form into the Shape of a Cuirass. Eastward of this People lye the *Padæans*, who keep Cattle, eat raw Flesh, and are reported to use the following Customs. When any one of the Community is sick, his best Friends dispatch him presently; because, say they, he is in a wasting Condition, and the Disease will corrupt his Body: If he deny he is sick, they have no Regard to his Words; but kill him and feast upon his Flesh: And if a Woman be in the same Condition, she is treated in the same Manner by other Women. They kill those who happen to live 'till they are

X 3

Old,

Old, and eat their Flesh with Rejoycing; but few among them attain to long Life, because they spare none that fall into any Distemper. On the other Hand some Indians observe a quite contrary Custom. For they neither kill any Animal, nor sow any Seed, nor build Houses; but content themselves with what the Earth freely affords. The Country naturally produces a sort of Grain equal to Millet in Bigness, and cover'd with a kind of Husk: Which being gather'd, and boil'd together with the Skin, serves for Food. When any one among them is sick, he retires into the Desert; where no Care is taken of him, whether he live or dye. All these Indians I have mention'd resemble the Æthiopians in Complexion, and perform the Act of Generation in Publick, like other Animals. The Seed they emit is not white, as that of other Men, but of equal Blackness with their Skin; and such also is the Seed of the Æthiopians. This Part of *India* is Situate to the Southward, very remote from the Persians, and by that Means was not subject to *Darius*. Other Indians inhabiting towards the North, and confining upon the Territories of *Caspatorus* and *Pactya*, resemble the Bactrians in Manners, and are the most valiant People of all *India*. These are they, who are appointed to collect Gold upon the uninhabited Sands of their Country. In this Desert are found Pismires, less indeed than Dogs, yet of a larger Size than Foxes. Some of them are kept in the Palace of the Persian King, which were taken in this Place. These Pismires are in Shape exactly like those of *Greece*; and burrow themselves under Ground,  
by

by carrying out the Sand (which is intermix'd with Gold) after the same Manner as with us. To this Defart the Indians send to fetch Gold, every Man employ'd in that Work tying three Camels together; a Male on each side, and a Female in the Middle, which he mounts himself, and always takes Care she be one that has newly foal'd. These Camels are no less swift than Horses, and much more able to carry Burdens. Their Form I need not describe to the Grecians; and therefore shall only observe, that a Camel has four Thighs and four Knees on his hinder Parts, and the genital Member turning towards his Tail; which things are not commonly known. When the Indians have prepar'd and harness'd their Camels in the Manner abovemention'd they set forwards towards the Defart; having before calculated the Time so as to arrive there during the most scorching Heat of the Day; because the Pis-mires are then all under Ground. In this Climate the Sun is not, as in other Regions, hottest at Noon; but in the Morning; During which, even to the Hour when Men usually retire from our publick Places, the Heat is more scorching than at Noon in *Greece*; and for this Reason, as is commonly reported, these Indians are accusom'd at that Time to bathe in cold Water. At Noon the Heat is little different from that which is felt in other Countries; but soon after becomes as moderate as the Morning elsewhere; gradually diminishing as the Sun declines, and upon the Setting changes into excessive Cold.

THE Indians arriving in this Place, fill their Sacks with the Sand and return with all possible



Expedition. For the Pismires as the Persians say, immediately taking the Scent pursue them with such unparrallell'd Swiftneſs, that none of the Indians could eſcape, if they did not uſe the utmoſt Dilligence before theſe Creatures can get together. For this Cauſe they untie the Male Camels, leſt they ſhould not be equally match'd, and ſo hinder each other in their Courſe: Whiſt the Females, which are more ſwift than the Males, and animated by the Remembrance of their Young, ſpare no Efforts to return with all poſſible Speed. In this Manner the Indians collect the greateſt part of their Gold, as the Persians ſay: For that which they dig out of the Mines is not ſo conſiderable. Thus the remotest Part of the inhabited World poſſeſſes ſome of the moſt noble things; as *Greece* is more happily bleſs'd with an agreeable Temper of Air and Seaſons. For in theſe Regions, which, as I ſaid before, lye fartheſt to the Eaſtward, and are call'd *India*, all Animals, both Quadrupeds and Birds, are bigger than in other Places; except only Horſes, which are not ſo large as the Myſæan Horſes of *Media*. There is likewiſe Abundance of Gold, either dug out of the Mines, or brought down by the Rivers, or robb'd from the Pismires in the Manner I have related; beſides a certain Tree, growing wild and inſtead of Fruit bearing a Wool, which excels that of Sheep both in Colour and Goodneſs, and is uſed by the Indians for Cloathing.

*ARABIA* is the laſt inhabited Country lying to the Southward; and the only Region which produces Frankincenſe, Myrrh, Caſſia, Cinnamon, and Ledanum. All theſe things the  
Arabians

Arabians gather with great Facility, Myrrh only excepted. For tho' the Trees which produce Frankincense are guarded by great Numbers of flying Serpents, small of Body, spotted with various Colours, and of the same kind with those that attempt to invade *Ægypt*; yet the Arabians by burning *Styrax* underneath, a Gum commonly transported into *Greece* by the Phœnicians, drive them away with the Smoak, and then gather the Frankincense from the Trees. These Serpents, the Arabians say, would fill all the Country, if they were not subject to the same Effect which is experienc'd in Vipers: And we may rationally conjecture that the Wisdom of divine Providence has made all those Creatures, which are naturally fearful, and serve for Food, to be very prolific, lest the Species should be destroy'd by constant Consumption: And on the contrary, such as are rapacious and cruel, to be almost barren. Hence the Hare, which is hunted by Beasts, Birds, and Men, is a great Breeder, and the only Animal that conceives to Superfecundation; carrying young ones in her Belly, of which some are forming in the Womb, others naked, and others ready for Birth at the same Time: whereas a Lyonsess, which is the strongest and fiercest of Beasts, brings no more than one Lyon during her Life; because she ejects her Matrix with her Whelp: For he is no sooner capable of Motion, but with his Claws, sharper than those of any other Beast, he begins to tear the Part where he lies; till increasing in Strength, he at last rends it in pieces, and leaves nothing sound behind him at his Eruption. If Vipers and the winged Serpents of *Arabia* should multiply with-

out

out Impediment, Men could not possibly live. But when they couple together, and the Male emits his Seed, the Female seizes him by the Neck, and presses so hard with her Teeth, that she never lets him go, 'till she has torn out the Piece. In this Manner the Male dyes; and the Female escapes not long with Impunity: For when her young Ones are intirely form'd, they open a Way for themselves with their Teeth thro' her Bowels, and thus revenge the Death of their Father: Whilst other Serpents which are not hurtful to Men, lay their Eggs, and produce great Abundance of their own Kind. As for Vipers, they are found in all Parts of the World; but flying Serpents are no where seen, at least in any considerable Number, except in *Arabia*.

HAVING related the Manner of gathering Frankincense, I shall now give some Account of the Way they take to furnish themselves with Cassia, which is this: They cover all the Body and Face, except the Eyes, with Hides and Skins, and go down to the Lake where the Cassia grows. This Lake is not deep; but infested with great Numbers of winged Beasts, in Form resembling a Bat; making hideous Cries, and assaulting boldly. From these the Arabians take Care to defend their Eyes, and in the mean Time cut the Cassia. But the Manner of getting Cinnamon is yet more admirable. They can neither tell how, nor in what Region this Aromatick is produc'd; and the best they can say is only founded upon Conjecture: Some pretending that it grows in those Countries where *Bacchus* receiv'd his Education; and from thence, say they, certain great Birds bring those Sticks (which



(which we from the Phœnicians call Cinnamon) to build their Nests, with a Mixture of Dirt, in mountainous Cliffs inaccessible to Men: The Arabians to surmount this Difficulty, have invented the following Artifice. They cut Oxen, Asses, and other large Cattle into great Pieces, and when they have carried and laid them down as near as is possible to the Nests; they retire to some Distance from the Place. In the mean Time the Birds descend to the Flesh, and carry up the Pieces to their Nests; which not being strong enough to support such a Weight, fall down immediately to the Ground. The Arabians approaching, gather up the Sticks; and by this Means, they and other Nations are furnish'd with Cinnamon. But the gathering of Ladanum, which the Arabians call Ladanum, is far more wonderful. For tho' this Drug be found sticking to the Beard of the He-Goat, like the Mouldiness of putrified Wood, and come from such a stinking Place, yet it is of a most fragrant Scent; ent'ring into the Composition of various Oyntments, and is more generally burnt by the Arabians than any other Perfume. But I have said enough of these Odours. For the rest, the Air of *Arabia* is divinely Sweet; and the Country produces two sorts of Sheep, which are very strange, and no where else seen. The first Kind has a Tail at least three Cubits long, which would certainly ulcerate, if they were suffer'd to draw it after them upon the Ground. But every Shepherd learning as much of the Wheelright's Art as serves his Purpose, makes little Carts; upon which he places the Tails of the Sheep, and fastens them. The other sort has a Tail of a full Cubit in Breadth.

South-

South-West of this Country, lye the Regions of *Æthiopia*, which are the utmost Limits of the inhabited World; abounding in Gold, Ebony, and Elephants of a prodigious Size. The Trees grow wild and uncultivated; and the Inhabitants are tall, beautiful, and of long Life. These are the Extremities of *Asia* and *Libya*; but I have nothing certain to relate concerning the western Bounds of *Europe*: Neither can I assent to those who tell us of a River, by the Barbarians call'd *Eridanus*, which, they say, furnishes Amber, and runs Northward into the Sea. I know as little of the Islands call'd *Cassiterides*, from the Tin which is thence imported among us. Indeed the very Name of *Eridanus*, which is Greek, and not Barbarous, discovers it to be the Fiction of some Poet. And tho' I have diligently inquir'd; yet I have never seen any Man, who by his own Experience could inform me concerning the Nature of that Sea, which bounds the Extremities of *Europe*. However 'tis certain that Amber and Tin come from the remotest Parts; And great Abundance of Gold is found in the Northern Regions; but in what Manner I am not able to relate with Certainty; tho' 'tis said that the Arimaspians, a People who have only one Eye, steal it from the Griffins. But I cannot believe that Men are born with one Eye, and yet resemble the rest of Mankind in all other things. In a Word these extreme Parts seem to contain another Region, abundantly provided with whatever we account rare and excellent.

THERE is a Plain in *Asia* encompass'd on every side with a Ridge of Hills, opening into five several Passages. This Country was formerly

merly in the Possession of the Chorasmiens, inhabiting the Mountains; and of the Hyrcanians, Parthians, Sarangæans, and Thomanians; but since the Establishment of the Persian Power, belongs to the King. A great River, known by the Name of *Aces*, flows from these Hills, and in Times past water'd the Territories of the Nations before mention'd. But these People have suffer'd much since they were reduc'd under the Dominion of the Persians. For the King caus'd the Apertures to be so effectually stopp'd, that the River finding no Passage out, was inclos'd within the Hills as in a Bason: And the People, who before had been supplied with those Waters, being depriv'd of a thing so necessary, were reduc'd to great Extremities. For tho', as other Countries, they have Rain in Winter; yet in Summer, when they sow *Panicum* and *Sesamus*, they stand in need of a farther Supply of Water; and therefore finding themselves totally excluded from the Benefit of the River, they went with their Wives to the King's Palace, howling, and making loud Exclamations before the Gates. Upon which the King gave Order that the Passages should be open'd towards those Lands that were in the most pressing Want, and shut up again when they were sufficiently water'd; and afterwards to do the like to the rest, in such Order as should be found necessary. But this, as I am well inform'd, was only a Contrivance to extort great Sums of Money besides the usual Tribute.

*INTAPHERNES*, one of the seven who had conspir'd against the Mage, was seiz'd and put to Death by the King, on the following Occasion.



sion. Soon after that Enterprize, he went to the Palace, in order to confer with *Darius*; pursuant to the Agreement beforemention'd, by which Provision was made, that all the Accomplices might freely go in to the King at any Time, except when he should happen to be in Bed with one of his Wives. *Intaphernes* therefore, in Confidence of this Priviledge, attempting to enter the Royal Apartment without an Introducer, was stopp'd by the Door-keeper and Messenger, under Colour that the King was then accompanied by one of his Women. But *Intaphernes* suspecting they lyed, drew his Scymater, and after he had cut off the Ears and Noses of both those Officers, he fasten'd a Bridle to the Head of each, and so left them. In this Condition they went in, and shewing themselves to the King, acquainted him with the Cause of the ill Usage they had receiv'd. Upon which *Darius* fearing the six might have concerted this Attempt together, sent for them, one after the other, and ask'd if they approv'd the Action. But finding by their Answers that *Intaphernes* was singly guilty, he caus'd him to be seiz'd with his Children and Family, having many Reasons to suspect that he and his Relations might raise a Rebellion. Whilst they were under Confinement, and bound, in order to Execution, the Wife of *Intaphernes* went to the Gates of the Palace, weeping and lamenting loudly; which she continued so assiduously, that at last *Darius* mov'd with Compassion, sent a Messenger to speak to her in these Terms, "Woman, The King  
 " gives you the Life of any one among your  
 " Relations, who are Prisoners, and leaves you  
 " the Choice of the Person." "Since the King,  
 said

“ said she after some Deliberation, will grant  
 “ me no more than one, I chuse my Bro-  
 “ ther.” *Darius*, when he heard her Answer,  
 wond’ring at her Choice, dispatch’d another  
 Messenger to ask her in his Name, “ Why she  
 “ had shewn so little Regard to her Husband  
 “ and Children, and rather chosen to save the  
 “ Life of her Brother, who was not so near re-  
 “ lated to her as her Children, nor could be so  
 “ dear to her as her Husband.” She answer’d,  
 “ That by the Permission of God she might  
 “ have another Husband and other Children,  
 “ if she should be depriv’d of those she had ;  
 “ but could never have another Brother, be-  
 “ cause her Father and Mother were already  
 “ dead. The King was so well pleas’d with  
 this Answer, that he not only pardon’d her  
 Brother, but gave her likewise the Life of  
 her eldest Son, and put all the rest to Death.  
 Thus *Darius* caus’d one of the seven to be ex-  
 ecuted in the Beginning of his Reign.

*OROETES* a Persian, who had been consti-  
 tuted Governour of *Sardis* by *Cyrus*, under-  
 took a detestable Enterprize about the Time  
 of *Cambyfes*’s Sickness. For he form’d a De-  
 sign against the Life of *Polycrates* the Samian,  
 tho’ he had never seen him, nor ever re-  
 ceiv’d any Injury from him by Word or Deed.  
 But the most current Report is, that the Cause  
 was this. As he was one Day sitting at the  
 Gates of the Palace with another Persian,  
 whose Name was *Mitrobates*, at that Time  
 Governour of *Dasylum*, they fell from ordi-  
 nary Discourse into a most violent Contestation  
 concerning Valour; in which *Mitrobates* up-  
 braided *Orætes* in these Terms. “ Art thou then,  
 “ said

“ said he, to be accounted a Man of any Esteem;  
 “ who hast not yet reduc’d the Island of *Samos*  
 “ to the King’s Obedience; which lies near  
 “ thy Government, and is so easy a Conquest,  
 “ that the present Possessor made himself Ma-  
 “ ster of all, and seiz’d the Sovereign Power,  
 “ with the Assistance only of fifteen Men?”  
 This Reproach, they say, left a deep Impression  
 on the Mind of *Orætes*, and made him take a  
 Resolution to revenge himself; not upon *Mi-  
 trobates* who had done him the Injury, but a-  
 gainst *Polycrates*, as the Cause of the Affront he  
 had receiv’d. Others pretend, tho’ not with  
 so good Authority, that a Messenger dispatch’d  
 by *Orætes* to *Polycrates*, to demand something,  
 which is not mention’d, found him reposing  
 in an inner Chamber, with *Anacreon* of *Teos* sit-  
 ting by his Couch; and either knowing and de-  
 liberately, or else by Accident, when the Herald  
 deliver’d his Message, *Polycrates* continued all the  
 Time with his Face towards the Wall, and never  
 turn’d about, nor condescended to make him a-  
 ny Answer. Both these Reasons are alledg’d to  
 have been the Cause of the Catastrophe of *Polycra-  
 tes*; and I leave every Man to determine for him-  
 self. However, *Orætes*, who resided in the Ci-  
 ty of *Magnesia* upon the River *Mæander*, being  
 acquainted with the Intentions of *Polycrates*,  
 sent a Message by *Myrsus* the Son of *Gyges* the  
 Lydian to *Samos*. For *Polycrates* was not only  
 the first of all the Grecians we know, who  
 form’d a Design to render himself Master of the  
 Sea, except *Minos* of *Crete*; or perhaps some-  
 other before his Reign; but the first of all Men,  
 who to that time had entertain’d the Thought  
 of subduing *Ionia* and the Islands. *Orætes* there-  
 fore



fore well inform'd of his Design, sent him a Message in these Words; “ *OROETES* to *POLYCRATES*. I hear you have great things in View; but want Money to put your Projects in Execution. Now if you will hearken to my Advice, you may succeed in your Enterprises, and preserve me: For I have certain Information that *Cambyfes* has resolv'd to take away my Life. Receive me therefore with my Treasures, and you shall have one Part, on Condition I may enjoy the other: By these Means you cannot fail to acquire the Dominion of *Greece*. If you doubt what I say concerning my Riches, send to me one of the most faithful Persons about you, and I will satisfy him in that Particular. *Polycrates* push'd on by Covetousness, receiv'd the Proposition of *Orætes* with Joy; and resolving to pursue his Advice, sent his Secretary *Mæandrus* the Son of *Mæandrius* to take a View of his Wealth. This Man was a Citizen of *Samos*; and not long after presented all the magnificent Furniture found in the Apartment of *Polycrates*, to the Temple of *Juno*. When *Orætes* heard that he was coming with this Design, he caus'd eight Chests to be almost fill'd with Stones; and having spread a thin Covering of Gold upon the Surface, he made them fast, and kept them ready 'till the Arrival of *Mæandrus*; who when he had inspected the pretended Treasure, departed, and at his Return acquainted his Master with what he had seen. Upon this Information *Polycrates* resolv'd to go in Person to *Orætes*, tho' he was earnestly dissuaded by his Friends, and by the Oracles; but especially by his Daughter, who

Y dream'd

dream'd she saw her Father elevated in the Air; wash'd by *Jupiter*, and anointed by the Sun. Deeply affected with her Dream, she endeavour'd by all Means possible to divert him from his intended Voyage; and as he was going to embark on a Galley of fifty Oars, persisted to tell him that nothing but misfortune could attend his Enterprize. On the other Hand he threatened her, if he return'd safe, that she should long continue unmarried; which she willingly imprecated upon herself; chusing rather to remain a Virgin, than to lose her Father. Thus *Polycrates* rejecting all Counsel, went away to *Orætes*, accompanied by divers of his Friends, and among others by *Democedes* the Crotonian, who was Son to *Calliphon*, and the most skilful Physician of his Time. When he arriv'd in *Magnesia* he was put to Death in an infamous Manner, unworthy of his Person and Magnanimity: For none of all the Grecian Tyrants, not even those of *Syracuse*, are to be compar'd with *Polycrates* for Dignity and Grandeur. But *Orætes* put him to Death in a Manner not to be mention'd without Indignation: For he caus'd him to be crucified; and retaining all the Strangers and Servants, who had follow'd him, as Captive Slaves, he dismiss'd the rest of the Samians, and told them they ought to thank him for their Liberty. Thus *Polycrates* accomplish'd the Dream of his Daughter. For as he hung upon the Cross, he was wash'd with the Rain of *Jupiter*; and anointed by the Sun, as the Moisture of his Body was exhal'd. And such was the End of all his Prosperities, as *Amasis* King of *Ægypt* had foretold.

B U T

BUT the Fate of *Polycrates* remain'd not long unreveng'd. For after the Death of *Cambyfes*, and during the Usurpation of the Mages, *Orætes*, continuing at *Sardis*, gave no Manner of Assistance to the Persians, who had been fraudulently dispossest'd of their Power by the Medes ; and not only took that Opportunity to murder *Mitrobates* Governour of *Dascylium*, because he had upbraided him with the Actions of *Polycrates* ; together with his Son *Cranaſpes*, both highly respected by the Persians ; but among an infinite Number of other Crimes, caus'd a Messenger, who brought an unwelcome Message to him from *Darius*, to be assassinated in his Return by certain Persons appointed to way-lay him, and bury him privately with his Horse, after they had put their Orders in Execution. *Darius* therefore upon his Accession to the Throne, resolv'd to punish *Orætes* for all his Crimes ; and especially for the Death of *Mitrobates* and his Son. But because he knew his own Affairs were not yet firmly establish'd in the Beginning of his Reign ; and that *Orætes*, besides a Guard of one thousand Persians, could draw together great Forces out of his Governments of *Phrygia*, *Lydia*, and *Ionia*, he declin'd to send an Army immediately against him ; and chusing rather to make use of other Means, summon'd the principal of the Persians together, and spoke to them in these Terms. “ Who among you, O  
“ Persians, will take upon him by his Wisdom  
“ to execute an Enterprize on my Account,  
“ without having Recourse to Violence or Numbers of Men ? For where Prudence is requir'd,  
“ Force is unnecessary. Who among you will  
“ bring me the Body of *Orætes* either alive or  
Y 2 dead ?



“ dead? Of *Orætes*, I say, who has never done  
 “ any Service to the Persians, but brought infi-  
 “ nite Mischiefs upon them: who has already  
 “ murder’d two of us, I mean *Mitrobates* and  
 “ his Son ; and by an unparallel’d Insolence, as-  
 “ sassinated the Messengers I sent to recall him.  
 “ Therefore we ought by his Destruction to  
 “ prevent him from bringing greater Evils up-  
 “ on the Nation ”. When *Darius* had thus spo-  
 ken, thirty of those who were present, profes-  
 sed themselves ready to execute his Orders; and  
 every one contending for the Employment, *Da-*  
*rius* order’d them to determine the Dispute by  
 Lot; which being done, *Bageus* the Son of *Ar-*  
*tontes* was charg’d with the Enterprize, and per-  
 form’d it in this Manner. He wrote divers Let-  
 ters about several Affairs; and after he had seal’d  
 them with the Signet of *Darius*, he departed  
 for *Sardis*; and coming into the Presence of *O-*  
*rætes*, deliver’d the Letters, one after the other,  
 to be read by the King’s Secretary; for every  
 Governour has one of these Secretaries attend-  
 ing him. This he did in order to see if the Guards  
 would shew any Signs of Defection: And per-  
 ceiving they paid great Respects to the Letters,  
 and much greater to the Contents, he put a-  
 nother into the Hands of the Secretary, con-  
 taining these Words, “ Persians, King *Darius*  
 “ forbids you to serve any longer for Guards  
 “ to *Orætes* ”: Which they no sooner heard, than  
 they laid down their Lances. When *Bageus*  
 saw them so readily obey, he took greater Con-  
 fidence, and deliver’d his last Letter to the Se-  
 cretary, written in these Terms, “ King *Da-*  
 “ *rius* commands the Persians who are in *Sardis*,  
 “ to kill *Orætes* ”. Upon the reading of which  
 the

the Guards drew their Scimiters, and kill'd him immediately. Thus Vengeance overtook *Orætes* the Persian for the Death of *Polycrates*, and all his Treasures were transported to *Susa*.

Not long after, as *Darius* was hunting, he hurt his Foot by a Fall from his Horse, so grievously, that his Heel was dislocated from the Joint; and thinking he had the best of the *Ægyptian* Physicians about him, he made Use of their Assistance. But they by violent pulling and distortion of the Part, augmented the Pain to such a Degree, that he lay seven Days and seven Nights without Sleep. On the eighth Day *Darius* still continuing in a restless Condition, was inform'd of the Ability of *Democedes* the *Crotonian*, by one who had heard of him at *Sardis*; and presently commanded him to be brought into his Presence. He was found among the Slaves of *Orætes*, altogether neglected; and introduc'd to the King, loaded with Fetters, and cloath'd in Raggs. When *Darius* saw him, he ask'd him whether he understood the Art of a Physician. But he fearing such a Confession might for ever prevent his Return to *Greece*, would not acknowledge his Skill. So that *Darius* suspecting by his Discourse that he knew more than he was willing to confess, and commanding those who had brought him thither, to bring out the Instruments of Whipping and Torture, *Democedes* presently declar'd, that indeed he could not pretend to understand the Art in Perfection, but had learn'd something by the Conversation of one who was a Physician. Upon which he was permitted to take Care of *Darius*, by applying Medicines after the Grecian Manner; and soon

ing the Part with strong Fomentations, gave him Rest; and in a little Time restor'd him to his Health; tho' the King had before despair'd of ever recovering the Strength of his Foot. When he had perform'd this Cure, *Darius* presented him with two Pair of golden Fetters. But *Democedes* ask'd him, if he meant to reward him with a double Evil for restoring his Health. With which Answer *Darius* was pleas'd, and sent him to the Womens Apartment attended by some of his Eunuchs; who having inform'd them that this Man had sav'd the King's Life, every one of his Wives gave *Democedes* a Vial cover'd with a Case, and so full of Gold, that his Servant *Sciton*, who follow'd him, collected a considerable Treasure, of the Pieces he took up as they fell to the Ground. This *Democedes* came to be known to *Polycrates* in the following Manner. He had liv'd with his Father in *Crotona*; but growing impatient of his excessive Severity, remov'd to *Agina*; where within the Space of a Year, tho' he was altogether unprovided with the Instruments requisite to his Profession, he surpass'd the most skilful of their Physicians; and the second Year obtain'd a Talent for his Salary out of the Publick Treasury. The third Year he was entertain'd by the Athenians at the Rate of a hundred Mines; and the fourth by *Polycrates* with a Reward of two Talents; and on that occasion went to *Samos*. The Crotonian Physicians became very famous by the Reputation of this Man, and generally esteem'd the ablest of all the Grecians. The Cyrenæans possess'd the second Place; and the Argians were at the same Time accounted the most skilful in the Art of Musick.

*DEMOCEDES*



*DEMOCEDDES* having thus cur'd *Darius*, liv'd at *Susa*, in a magnificent House, was admitted to the King's Table, and enjoy'd every thing in Abundance, except the Liberty of returning to *Greece*. He obtain'd a Pardon for the *Ægyptians*, who having been the King's Physicians, were condemn'd to be impal'd for suffering themselves to be outdone by a Grecian; and procur'd the Liberty of a certain Prophet of *Elis*, who had attended *Polycrates*, and lay neglected among the Prisoners. In a Word, *Democedes* was the principal Favourite of *Darius*.

N o t long after these things had pass'd, *Atossa* the Daughter of *Cyrus*, and Wife to *Darius*, had a Tumour in her Breast; which breaking, spread so far, that tho' in Modesty she had to that Time conceal'd it from all Persons, yet finding the Danger to encrease, she at last sent for *Democedes*, and shew'd him the Ulcer. He presently promis'd to cure her Breast; and at the same Time earnestly desir'd that she on her Part would confer a Favour upon him, which should be no way dishonourable to her. When *Atossa* was perfectly recover'd, and instructed by *Democedes*, she address'd herself to *Darius*, as she lay in her Bed, with these Words. " 'Tis strange that a  
" King of so great Power should be unactive  
" and not rather conquer Nations, and enlarge  
" the Empire of the Persians. A young Prince,  
" possess'd of such vast Treasures, ought to render  
" himself considerable by his Actions, and  
" to convince his Subjects that they are govern-  
" ed by a Man. Two Reasons oblige you to  
" this Conduct: First that the Persians may  
" know they are commanded by a valiant King;

“ and then that they may be employ’d in War,  
 “ and not tempted by too much Ease to rebel.  
 “ Exert your self therefore, while you are in  
 “ the Flower of your Years. For as the Fa-  
 “ culties of the Mind keep equal Peace with the  
 “ Body in advancing to their utmost Vigour:  
 “ So both decline together gradually: and be-  
 “ come incapable of any Enterprize ”. Thus  
*Atossa* express’d herself at the Solicitation of  
*Democedes*, and *Darius* in Answer, said, “ Wo-  
 “ man, Thou hast advis’d me to do as I had al-  
 “ ready determin’d. For I resolve to make  
 “ War upon the Scythians, and to that end  
 “ design to lay a Bridge from our Continent  
 “ to the other; which I will do in a short  
 “ Time. Consider well, said she; and by no  
 “ Means make your first Expedition against the  
 “ Scythians; who will be an easy Conquest  
 “ whenever you please, but take my Advice  
 “ and lead an Army into *Greece*. For the Ac-  
 “ count I have heard of the Lacedæmonian,  
 “ Argian, Athenian, and Corinthian Women,  
 “ has inspir’d me with a vehement Desire to  
 “ have some of them for Servants. Besides,  
 “ you have the fittest Man in the World to  
 “ inform you of every thing concerning *Greece*,  
 “ I mean the Person who cur’d your Foot.  
 “ Since then, replied *Darius*, you are of Opi-  
 “ nion that I ought to make my first Attempt  
 “ against *Greece*, I think convenient to send  
 “ some Persians thither with the Man you men-  
 “ tion; in order to discover what they can  
 “ relating to the Country; and when they  
 “ have satisfied me in all Particulars, I will  
 “ follow with my Army ”. Having said this,  
 he soon began to make good his Word. For early  
 the

the next Morning he sent for fifteen eminent Persians, and commanded them to accompany *Democedes* in taking a view of all the maritim Places of *Greece*, and to bring him back again, without affording him any Opportunity of making his Escape. After he had given these Instructions to the Persians, he sent also for *Democedes*, and enjoyn'd him to return, so soon as he had assisted them in viewing all the Parts of *Greece*, and discovering whatever could be known of their Affairs; commanding him to carry all his Goods and Furniture for a Present to his Father and Brothers, and promising to furnish him with better at his Return. He assur'd him farther, that he would provide a Ship for the Transportation of his Presents, and would cause all things necessary and convenient for his Voyage to be embark'd in her. My Opinion is, that *Darius* promis'd him all these things sincerely and without Art: But *Democedes* fearing the King might have a Design to try whether he had any Inclination to abandon him, desir'd he might be permitted to leave his own Goods in his House 'till he should return; and only to accept the Ship with what should be put on board for a Present to his Brothers. Thus having receiv'd their Instructions, and taken leave of *Darius*, they departed; and passing thro' *Phœnicia* arriv'd in the City of *Sidon*: Where having caus'd two Gallies to be made ready with all Diligence for the Transportation of their Persons, and another Ship of great Burden to attend them with all things necessary and commodious, they set sail for *Greece*; and after they had view'd and describ'd all the maritim Places, and curi-  
ously



ously observ'd whatever is accounted most remarkable in that Country, they pass'd on to *Italy*, and landed at *Tarentum*. But *Aristophilides* King of the Tarentins, who was a Native of *Crotona* as well as *Democedes*, took off the Rudders of the Median Ships, and seiz'd all the Persians as Spies. During their Confinement *Democedes* went to *Crotona* and in the mean Time *Aristophilides* set the Persians at Liberty, and restor'd all that he had taken out of their Ships: Upon which they set sail from *Tarentum* in Pursuit of *Democedes*; and arriving in *Crotona*, found him and laid Hands on him in Publick. Some of the Inhabitants dreading the Persian Power, were for delivering him up; but others took hold on the Persians, and beat them with Clubs, tho' they admonish'd the Crotonians to desist in these Terms. "Men of  
 " *Crotona*, consider what you do, in protecting  
 " one who is a Fugitive from the King: What  
 " will you get by offering this Injury to *Dari-*  
 " *us*? And what will be the Event if you  
 " force this Man from us? Shall we not cer-  
 " tainly make War against your City before all  
 " others? And use our utmost Endeavours  
 " to reduce you into Servitude"? Yet these Words were not sufficient to persuade the Crotonians; for they not only detain'd *Democedes*, but seiz'd the great Ship that attended the Persians: Who being thus depriv'd of their Guide, reimbark'd in order to return to *Asia*, without endeavouring to inform themselves farther concerning *Greece*. At their Departure *Democedes* requir'd them to tell *Darius*, that he was preparing to marry the Daughter of *Milo*; for he was not ignorant that the Name of *Milo*, the famous Athlete,

lete, was well known to the King. And I am inclin'd to believe that *Democedes* spar'd no Expence to hasten the Conclusion of this Match, in order to persuade *Darius* that he was no inconsiderable Person in his own Country. After the Persians departed from *Crotona*, they fell in with some Ships near *Iapygia*, and being taken and carried Prisoners thither, were ransom'd by *Gillus* a banish'd Tarentin, and conducted by him to *Darius*: For which Service the King profess'd himself ready to reward *Gillus* in the Manner he should desire. But he, relating the Cause of his Banishment, ask'd nothing more than to be restor'd to his Country by the Authority of *Darius*. Yet lest all *Greece* should take the Alarm, if a great Fleet should be sent thro' their Seas to accompany him to *Italy*, he said the King might easily effect his Restitution by the Cnidians alone, because they were in Amity with the Tarentins. This Expedient *Darius* approv'd; and having dispatch'd a Messenger to require the Cnidians in his Name, to conduct *Gillus* to *Tarentum*, they readily obey'd his Orders; but could obtain nothing from the Tarentins, and were not strong enough to constrain them by Force. In this Manner these Things pass'd; and the Persians I have mention'd, were the first, who went from *Asia* to discover the Affairs of *Greece*.

AFTER these Transactions, *Darius* conquer'd *Samos*; which was the first of all the Cities he took either from the Grecians or Barbarians. The Cause was this. During the Expedition of *Cambyſes* the Son of *Cyrus* against *Aegypt*, many Grecians resorted thither; partly, as one may conjecture, on Account of Trade, and partly, to  
take

take a View of the Country. Among the last was *Syloson* the Son of *Æaces*; brother to *Polycrates*, and an Exile of *Samos*. His good Fortune led him to make use of a scarlet Cloak, with which he cover'd himself, and walk'd publickly in the Streets of *Memphis*. *Darius*, who was one of *Cambyfes's* Guards, and made no great Figure at that Time, looking upon him, grew desirous of the Cloak, and ask'd him if he would sell it. *Syloson* perceiving *Darius* to be passionately fond of the Garment, made this Answer, as if he had been extraordinarily inspir'd, " I  
 " would not sell my Cloak for any Riches, yet  
 " if you desire it so much, I will give it you  
 " for a Present. *Darius* accepting his Offer with Thanks, took the Cloak; and *Syloson* thought himself a Loser by his forward Generosity. But when, after the Death of *Cambyfes*, and the Destruction of the Mages by the seven Persians, *Darius*, who had been one of that Number, was advanc'd to the Throne, *Syloson* hearing that the Kingdom was fallen into the Hands of the Man he had presented with his Cloak in *Ægypt*, went to *Susa*, and sitting at the Gates of the Palace, said he had been a Benefactor to *Darius*: Which being reported to the King by one of the Doorkeepers, he answer'd with Surprize, " What Grecian is this,  
 " who pretends to have conferr'd Benefits upon me, and to be respected on that Account?  
 " I have but lately taken Possession of the Kingdom, and few or none of that Country have  
 " been seen here: Neither can I remember  
 " that I am at all oblig'd to any Grecian. How-  
 " ever bring in the Man, that I may know the  
 " meaning of his Words. The Doorkeeper  
 presently



presently introduc'd *Syloson*; and as he stood in the Midst of the Company; the Interpreters ask'd him, who he was, and what he meant by saying he had been a Benefactor to the King. Then *Syloson* related what had pass'd between *Darius* and himself concerning the Cloak; and having own'd that he was the Person who had made him that Present, the King answer'd, "O thou most generous of Men! Art thou then the Man, from whose Hands I receiv'd that Gift; which tho' small in it self, yet at that Time, when I had no Power, was of no less Value to me, than a very great thing would be now? I will reward thee with great Abundance of Gold and Silver, that thou may'st not repent thy Kindness to *Darius* the Son of *Hystaspes*." "O King, replied *Syloson*, give me neither Gold nor Silver; but save my Country, which ever since the Death of my Brother *Polycrates*, who was kill'd by *Orates*, has been usurp'd by one of our Servants: Give me I say, *Samos* without Blood, and without the Expulsion of my Countrymen." When *Darius* had heard his Request, he sent an Army under the Conduct of *Otanes*, one of the seven, with Orders to act in Conformity to the Desires of *Syloson*. And being thus instructed *Otanes* march'd to the Sea-Coast, and imbark'd his Army for *Samos*.

In the mean Time *Meandrus* the Son of *Meandrius* had taken upon him the Government of *Samos*; which had been committed to his Care by *Polycrates*; and resolving to shew himself an honest Man, was thus prevented from accomplishing his Intention. When he heard of the Death

2

of

of *Polycrates*, he presently erected an Altar to *Jupiter* the Deliverer, and mark'd out the Ground for a Temple, which is now seen in the Suburbs of the City. Having done this, he summon'd a general Assembly of the Citizens, and made the following Speech. “ You know, said he, that  
 “ I was entrusted with the Scepter and all the  
 “ Power of *Polycrates*, and that the Government  
 “ is wholly in my Hands. But I will use the  
 “ best of my Endeavours to abstain from a Crime,  
 “ which I should condemn in another. For the  
 “ arbitrary Power assum'd by *Polycrates* over Men  
 “ equal to himself, was never approv'd by me;  
 “ neither shall I ever approve the like in a-  
 “ ny other Person. Now seeing the Decree of  
 “ Fate has been accomplish'd by his Death, I  
 “ surrender the Government into your Hands,  
 “ and proclaim an equal Liberty to all. Only  
 “ I desire you would grant me six Talents  
 “ out of the Wealth of *Polycrates*; and confer  
 “ upon me, and my Descendents for ever, the  
 “ Priesthood of the Temple I have built to *Jupi-*  
 “ *ter* the Deliverer, as a just Reward of my Ser-  
 “ vice in restoring your Liberties.” When *Mæ-*  
*andrus* had made these Demands, *Telesearchus*, an  
 eminent Citizen of *Samos*, standing up in the  
 Assembly said, “ Thou art utterly unworthy to  
 “ govern us, and deservedly obnoxious to ac-  
 “ count for the Treasures thou hast imbezzled.  
 “ For thou wast born to be a publick Pest, and  
 “ common Calamity.” *Mæandrus* perceiving by  
 the Tenour of these Words, that if he should  
 divest himself of the Power, some other would  
 assume the Tyranny in his Place resolv'd to keep  
 Possession of the Government. To which end  
 retiring

retiring to the Castle, and sending for the Citizens thither, under Colour of giving them an Account of the publick Treasure, seiz'd their Persons, as they came, one after the other. But whilst they were under Confinement, he fell sick; and his Brother *Lycaretus* imagining he could not recover, kill'd all the Prisoners, that he might with greater Facility usurp the Dominion of *Samos*; where Men seem'd to retain so little Affection for Liberty, that when the Persians came before the City with *Syloson*, no Man lifted up a Hand against them; and *Mæandrus* with those of his Party, offer'd to depart the Island under a Promise of Protection: Which Proposition when *Otanes* had accepted, and a Truce was agreed on both sides, the principal Men of the Persians sat down in their Chariots before the Castle. In the mean Time *Charilaus* another Brother of *Mæandrus*, and extravagantly foolish; was kept Prisoner in a Dungeon for some Fault he had committed. This Man having overheard what was doing, and from an Aperture of his Prison observ'd the Persians sitting in great Tranquillity, demanded with many Exclamations to speak with *Mæandrus*: Which *Mæandrus* hearing, commanded him to be brought into his Presence: Where immediately after his Admission, he began with opprobrious and reviling Language to excite him to fall upon the Persians. "Thou art," said he, the basest of Men: Thou hast thrown me into a Dungeon, who am thy Brother, and have done nothing to deserve such Usage; but hast not Courage enough to avenge thy self on the Persians, tho' nothing be more easy, and thou know'lt they  
"are  
6



“ are come to drive thee out of thy Country.  
 “ If thy Fears are so great, lend me thy Aux-  
 “ iliary Forces, and I will not only make them  
 “ repent their coming ; but expell thee out of  
 “ the Island likewise.” *Mæandrus* readily accepted the Offer of *Charilaus* : Not, as I suppose, that he was so destitute of Understanding, to imagine his own Power superior to that of the King ; but out of Envy to *Syloson*, who, he saw, would otherwise possess himself of the City without Resistance. He resolv’d therefore to provoke the Persians, and by this Means to weaken the Power of the Samians, before they should fall into the Hands of *Syloson*. For he knew the Persians would not fail to take a severe Revenge against the Samians for the Outrages they should suffer : And, as for himself, he could make his Escape out of the Island at his Pleasure ; which he did afterwards by a private Passage he had made under Ground, leading from the Castle to the Sea. In the mean Time *Charilaus* having arm’d the Auxiliaries, set open the Gates ; and sallying out upon the Persians, who expected not any Hostility, and thought every thing had been agreed, surpriz’d and kill’d the principal Men among them as they were sitting in their Seats. But the rest of the Army taking the Alarm, came in to their Succour, and repuls’d the Auxiliaries into the Castle. When *Otanes* the General saw the great Loss he had sustain’d by the Slaughter of these Persians, he neglected to obey the Orders given him by *Darius* at his Departure, importing that he should neither kill nor take Prisoner any Samian, but deliver the Island to *Syloson* without Damage ; and on the contrary com-  
 manded

manded his Army to put all the Samians they should find to the Sword, without sparing the Children. So that while one Part of his Forces was employ'd in besieging the Castle, the rest kill'd all they met, as well within the Temples as in other Places. *Meandrus* made his Escape by Sea, and fled from *Samos* to *Lacedæmon*; and, soon after his Arrival with the Riches he had carried off, order'd his Servants to take out and cleanse his Cups of Gold and Silver, and at the same Time conducted *Cleomenes* the Son of *Anaxandrides*, and then King of *Sparta*, to his House, discoursing together. The King viewing the Cups, was fill'd with Surprize and Astonishment: Which *Meandrus* perceiving, solicited him to take whatever he desir'd, and repeated his Offer several Times. But *Cleomenes* shew'd himself an honest Man, by refusing steadfastly to accept any thing; and being afterwards inform'd that other Citizens had receiv'd his Presents, he went to the Ephori, and told them 'twas necessary to expel this Samian out of *Peloponnesus*, lest he should corrupt him or others of the Spartans. Upon which they took his Advice, and banish'd him by publick Proclamation. In the mean Time the Persians put *Samos* into the Hands of *Syloson*, plunder'd and depopulated. But *Otanes* the Persian General repeopled the City afterwards, upon a Vision he saw in a Dream, and a Distemper which seiz'd him in his private Parts.

WHILE these Forces were employ'd in this Naval Expedition against *Samos*, the Babylonians revolted, after they had provided all things necessary to that Purpose. For during the Ufurpa-

tion of the Mage, and the Enterprize of the seven, they had made Use of those Times of Confusion to prepare themselves to sustain a Siege, and had not been discover'd. But when they appear'd in open Rebellion, they took the following Method to prevent the Consumption of their Provisions. They preserv'd their Mothers in general: And after they had permitted every Man to reserve the Wife he best lov'd, with another Woman to make his Bread, they assembled all the rest together and strangled them. *Darius* being inform'd of these Affairs, drew all his Forces out; march'd to *Babylon*, and besieg'd the City. But the Babylonians not at all solicitous about the Event mounting the Ramparts of the Wall, fell to dancing; and derided *Darius* with his Army; one of them adventuring to speak in this Manner to the Persians; "What Business have you here to detain you? Decamp rather and march off: For you will not be Masters of this Place till a Mule brings forth a Colt": Which Words were spoken by the Babylonian in full assurance that a Mule could never breed. When *Darius* had spent a Year and seven Months before *Babylon*, and was grown no less uneasy than his Army with the tedious Length of that Siege, he endeavour'd by various Stratagems and Artifices to take the Place, and among others by that which had succeeded so well with *Cyrus*; but all his Efforts were rendered ineffectual by the unwearied Vigilance of the Babylonians. In the twentieth Month of this Siege, a Prodigy happen'd in the Quarters of *Zopyrus*, the Son of *Megabyfus* one of the seven Persians who destroy'd the Mage. For a Mule

that



that carried his Provisions brought forth a Colt : Which *Zopyrus* hearing, and doubting the Truth of so strange an Event, he went to the Place ; and after he had fully satisfied himself, strictly commanded all that were present to conceal the thing : And because he well remembered the Words of the Babylonian, who said, “ The City might be taken when Mules should begin to breed ” ; He concluded that the Man had spoken, and the Mule brought a Colt, by the Influence of a divine Power ; and that therefore the Time for reducing *Babylon* was come. In this Persuasion *Zopyrus* going to *Darius*, ask’d him if the taking of *Babylon* would be acceptable to him ; and being assur’d by the King that he vehemently desir’d to repossess himself of that Place, he began to consider by what Means he alone might accomplish the Work : For among the Persians great Atchievements are the Steps by which Men ascend to the highest Honours. And after mature Deliberation, finding no other possible Way to compass his Design, than by mutilating his Body, and in that Condition deserting to the Enemy ; he laid aside all Regard to the Dignity of his Person, and having cut off his Nose and Ears, whipp’d himself, and cut his Hair in the most indecent Manner, went thus horribly disfigur’d into the Presence of *Darius*. The King in the utmost Surprize to see a Man of his Rank so atrociously mangled, rose up hastily from his Throne, and with loud Exclamation ask’d, who had been the Author of that Outrage, and on what Occasion. “ You alone, answer’d *Zopyrus* ; for no other Person could have treated me in this Manner ; tho’ I myself

“ self was the immediate Executioner; because  
 “ I could no longer see the Persians baffled by  
 “ the Assyrians. Wretched Man, said *Darius*,  
 “ thou hast endeavour’d to put a fair Colour  
 “ on a foul Action; pretending to have in-  
 “ flicted this Indignity on thy self by Reason  
 “ of the Siege. Art thou so foolish to believe  
 “ the Babylonians will surrender the sooner  
 “ for thy Wounds? Or rather had’st thou not  
 “ lost thy Understanding, before the Commis-  
 “ sion of this cruel Fact ”? “ Had I, replied  
 “ *Zopyrus*, inform’d you of my Intentions, you  
 “ would not have permitted me to proceed. But  
 “ because I consulted only with my self, I have  
 “ executed my Design; and if your Troops  
 “ are not wanting to themselves, we shall take  
 “ *Babylon*. For I will desert to the Babyloni-  
 “ ans in this Condition, and tell them I have  
 “ suffer’d these Indignities from you; and  
 “ when I shall have persuaded them of my  
 “ Sincerity, I doubt not to obtain the Com-  
 “ mand of their Forces. My Opinion there-  
 “ fore is, that on the tenth Day after my De-  
 “ parture, you would command a thousand Men  
 “ of those you least value, to march up to  
 “ the Gate of *Semiramis*; two thousand on  
 “ the seventh Day after to the Gate of *Ninus*;  
 “ and twenty Days from the Expiration of  
 “ that Term, four thousand more to that of  
 “ the Chaldæans. But none of these Par-  
 “ ties are to be permitted to carry any other  
 “ Arms, than Swords only for their Defence.  
 “ After the twentieth Day is pass’d, command  
 “ all the rest of the Army to march up directly  
 “ to the Walls, with particular Orders to the  
 “ Persians, to post themselves at the Gates of  
 “ *Belus*

“ *Belus* and *Ciffia*. For unless I deceive myself,  
 “ the Babylonians will not fail among other  
 “ things to entrust me with the Keys of the  
 “ Gates, in Consideration of my great Actions:  
 “ And then I and the Persians will take care to  
 “ perform the rest ”. When he had given this  
 Advice, he took his Way towards the City;  
 and the better to act the Part of a Defetter,  
 look’d frequently behind him as he went. The  
 Guards who were plac’d on the Towers seeing  
 him approaching, went down, and drawing  
 back the Gate ask’d him who he was? and  
 what Business brought him thither? He an-  
 swer’d, he was *Zopyrus*, and desir’d to be re-  
 ceiv’d into the City: Which the Guards hear-  
 ing, they conducted him to the Common Hall;  
 where he was no sooner admitted, than he began  
 to deplore his Condition, and assur’d them he  
 had suffer’d from *Darius* what indeed he had  
 done to himself; for advising him to break up  
 the Siege, because he saw no Appearance of  
 taking the City. “ Now therefore, said he  
 “ to the Babylonians, I put my self into your  
 “ Hands, with a Resolution to do you the grea-  
 “ test Service, and all possible Mischief to *Da-*  
 “ *rius*, his Army, and to the Persians. For I  
 “ will not be long unreveng’d of his Cruelty;  
 “ since I am perfectly inform’d of all his Coun-  
 “ sels and Designs ”. The Babylonians seeing a  
 Man of that Distinction among the Persians de-  
 priv’d of his Ears and Nose, and cover’d with  
 Wounds and Blood, never doubted the Truth  
 of his Words; and assuring themselves of his  
 Assistance, shew’d a Readiness to grant him  
 whatever he would ask. Accordingly he desir’d  
 the Command of some Forces; and having ob-  
 tain’d



tain'd his Request, acted as he had preconcerted with *Darius*. For on the tenth Day he sallied out of the City at the Head of the Babylonians, and surrounding the thousand Men that *Darius* had already sent in pursuance of their Project, he cut them all in Pieces on the Spot. When the Babylonians saw that his Actions were suitable to his Promises, they express'd their Joy in an extraordinary Manner, and declar'd themselves ready to supply him with all things he should demand. *Zopyrus* therefore at the Time prefix'd by *Darius* and himself, drew out another Party, and kill'd two thousand more of his Men; which second Action so pleas'd the Babylonians, that the Name of *Zopyrus* became the General subject of their Praises. In Conclusion, he march'd out a third Time, and leading his Troops to the Place appointed, surpriz'd and cut in Pieces the other four thousand. Upon which Success *Zopyrus* acquir'd so great Credit in *Babylon*, that he was constituted General, and had the Guard of the City committed to his Care. But when *Darius* advanc'd with his whole Army to surround the Body of the Place, pursuant to the Agreement they had made, then *Zopyrus* discover'd his Treachery. For whilst the Babylonians were defending themselves from the Walls against the Army of *Darius*, *Zopyrus* open'd the Gates of *Belus* and *Cissia*, and introduc'd the Persians into the City. Those who saw this traiterous Action, fled into the Temple of *Jupiter Belus*; and those who perceiv'd nothing of what pass'd, continued in their several Posts, till they were inform'd in what Manner they had been betray'd. Thus *Babylon* was taken a second Time;

Time; and *Darius* becoming Master of the Place, not only demolish'd the Walls and Gates, which had been left intire by *Cyrus*, but commanded about three thousand of the principal Leaders to be impal'd, and then gave Leave to the rest to continue in their Habitations. And because the Babylonians had strangled their Women, as I said before, in order to prevent the Consumption of their Provisions; he took care to furnish them with Wives, that they might not be destitute of Children: And to that End enjoyn'd the neighbouring Provinces to send a certain number of Women to *Babylon*, amounting in all to fifty thousand; and from these the Babylonians of our Time are descended. Touching *Zopyrus*, the Judgment of *Darius* was, that by the Generosity of this Action he had surpass'd all the Persians of his own or preceeding Times, *Cyrus* only excepted; with whom no Persian ever thought himself worthy to be compar'd. 'Tis also reported that he frequently us'd to say, he would rather wish *Zopyrus* had suffer'd no Hurt, than to acquire twenty more *Babylons*. However, he rewarded him magnificently; for besides annual Presents consisting of all those things which are accounted most honourable among the Persians, he gave him the Revenues of *Babylon* for Life, free from any Manner of Charge. *Megabyesus*, afterwards General in *Ægypt* against the Athenians and their Allies, was Son of this *Zopyrus*; and Father to another of that Name, who abandon'd the Persians, and voluntarily deserted to *Athens*.



# A MAP of the WORLD as far as it was known to the ANTIENTS





T H E

History of *Herodotus*.

B O O K IV.

*MELPOMENE.*

**A**FTER the Reduction of *Babylon*, *Darius* undertook an Expedition against *Scythia*; and seeing *Asia* abounding in Men and Riches, grew very desirous to revenge himself upon the Scythians; who without Provocation had formerly invaded the Territories of *Media*, and defeated all those who appear'd in Arms against them. The Scythians, as I have said already, continued twenty eight Years in the Possession of *Upper-Asia*; having enter'd those Provinces in Pursuit of the Cimmerians, and suppress'd the Power of the Medes, who before that Time were Masters of all *Asia*. But after they had spent so many Years abroad, they met with as great Difficulties in returning to their own Country, as they had encounter'd before in *Media*, and found an Army of no inconsiderable Force ready to oppose their Entrance. For during so long a Time of Absence, the Wives of those Scythians had us'd the Company of their Slaves; who are all blind, and serve to draw the Milk they drink in this Manner. They have Bones shap'd like  
Flutes;

Flutes; which being apply'd to the genital Part of a Mare, one of these Slaves blows with his Mouth, whilst another milks the Beast. They say this Invention is practic'd, because the Wind makes the Veins of the Mare to grow turgid, and her Teats to descend. When the Milk is drawn, and pour'd into hollow Vessels of Wood, the blind Men standing round the Tubs beat it for some Time. Then they skim off the Substance which lies uppermost, and is esteem'd the most precious; leaving the rest, as of less Value. And on this Account the Scythians put out the Eyes of all the Prisoners they take; never applying their Care to Husbandry; but only to the keeping of Cattel. Born of these Slaves and the Wives of the Scythians, a new Generation was grown up, who knowing their own Extraction, march'd out to oppose the Return of those that came from *Media*. To this end they fortified the Frontier of the Country by a broad Ditch, carried on from Mount *Taurus* to the Lake *Mæotis*, which is the greatest of all others, and when the Scythians endeavour'd to force their Intrenchments, they drew together and made a vigorous Resistance. The Scythians repeated the Attempt several Times, and were as often repuls'd; upon which one among them said, "Men of *Scythia*, What can we  
 " mean by making War with our Slaves? If we  
 " are kill'd, our own Power diminishes; and if  
 " we kill, we lessen the Number of those we  
 " ought to command. My Opinion therefore,  
 " is, that we would lay aside our Bows and  
 " Spears, and every one taking his Horse-whip  
 " in his Hand go directly to them in that Po-  
 " sition.

“ sure. For so long as they shall see us arm’d,  
 “ so long they will think themselves equal to  
 “ us, and born of as good Blood as we. But  
 “ when they shall perceive us approaching with  
 “ our Whips instead of Arms, they will soon be  
 “ convinc’d they are our Servants; and under  
 “ that Apprehension will resist no more.” The  
 Scythians did as he advis’d, and the Slaves  
 struck with Astonishment forgot they were to  
 fight, and fled away. Thus the Scythians,  
 who had the Dominion of *Asia*, and were af-  
 terwards expell’d by the Medes, return’d to their  
 own Country: And *Darius* desiring to take Re-  
 venge, assembled an Army, in order to invade  
 their Territories.

THE Scythians say their Nation is of a later  
 Original than any other, and began in this  
 Manner. The first Man that appear’d in *Scy-  
 thia*, then an uninhabited Desert, was *Targi-  
 taus*, concerning whom they relate things in-  
 credible to me. For they affirm that he was  
 born of *Jupiter* and a Daughter of the River  
*Borysthenes*: That he had three Sons who went  
 by the Names of *Lipoxais*, *Apoxais*, and *Co-  
 laxais*: That during their Reign a Plow, with  
 a Yoak, an Axe, and a Bowl, all of Gold,  
 fell down from Heaven into *Scythia*: That  
 the eldest, who saw those things first, approach-  
 ing with Design to take them up, found them  
 burning hot, and retir’d: That the second  
 came immediately after, and found the Gold  
 in the same Condition: That when they had  
 both withdrawn themselves from the burning  
 Metal, the youngest Son advanc’d, and find-  
 ing the Fire extinguish’d, carried away the  
 things with him; and that the elder Brothers  
 having



having observ'd this Event, surrendred the Kingdom to the youngest. They farther say, that the Auchatian Scythians are descended from *Lipoxais*; the Catiarians and Trasprians from *Apoxais*; and the Race of their Kings, which they call Paralates, from *Colaxais*, the third Son of *Targitaus*. They give themselves the general Name of Scolotes; which is also the Sirname of their Kings: But the Grecians call them Scythians. This Account they give of their Original; and reckon about a thousand Years at most, from the Reign of *Targitaus* the first King of *Scythia*, to the Time they were invaded by *Darius*. The Kings take all imaginable Care to preserve the sacred Gold, and annually assist at the magnificent Sacrifices, which are offer'd to those Holy Instruments. If he who has the Guard of these things on the Festival Day, happen to fall asleep in the open Air, the Scythians say he cannot live long, and therefore make him a present of as much Land as he can ride over on Horseback in one Day. *Colaxais* perceiving the Country to be of vast Extent, divided the Kingdom between his three Sons; and made that Share most considerable, where the Gold which fell from Heaven, is kept. The Scythians say, that those Parts which are situate to the Northward of their Territories, are neither visible nor practicable, by reason of the Feathers that fall continually on all sides. For the Earth is intirely cover'd, and the Air so full of these Feathers, that the Sight is altogether obstructed. These things are related by the Scythians concerning themselves, and the Regions that lye above them. But the Grecians who inhabit *Pontus* give a different Account; and say, that

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as *Hercules* was driving away the Cows of *Geryon*, he arriv'd in the Country now possess'd by the Scythians ; which was then an uninhabited Desert ; and that *Geryon* liv'd in an Island by the Grecians call'd *Erythia* , remote from *Pontus*, and situate not far from *Gades*, beyond the Columns of *Hercules* upon the Ocean. They likewise affirm that the Ocean rising in the East surrounds the whole Earth ; but bring no Proof of their Assertion : That *Hercules* in his Return pass'd thro' the Country, which is now call'd *Scythia* ; and finding the Weather cold and frosty, lay down to sleep wrapp'd in the Lyon's Skin : That while he slept, the Mares which drew his Chariot, led by a divine Hand, stray'd from the Place where they fed ; and that when he awak'd, he sought them all over the Country, and coming to a Place call'd *Hylea*, found a Creature of an ambiguous Nature, resembling a Virgin from the Thighs upwards, and shap'd like a Serpent in the lower Parts. Astonish'd at the Sight, he ask'd her if she had seen his Mares. She told him they were in her Power ; but that she would not restore them, unless he would lye with her : To which he consented, in order to recover his Mares. Nevertheless she delay'd to perform her Promise, out of a Desire to enjoy the Company of *Hercules* as long as she could ; 'till finding him no less desirous to depart, she restor'd the Mares, and spoke to him in these Terms. “ I preserv'd  
“ your Mares when they stray'd hither, and you  
“ have given me the Recompence of my Care ;  
“ for I have three Sons by you. Tell me there-  
“ fore how I shall dispose of them when they are  
“ grown up : Whether they shall continue to  
“ live

“ live in this Country, where I am Mistress?  
 “ or whether I shall send them to you?” To  
 this Question *Hercules* answer’d; “ When you  
 “ see the Children arriv’d to the Age of Men,  
 “ you cannot err, if you retain in these Regions  
 “ that Son, who shall be found capable of draw-  
 “ ing this Bow and wearing this Belt, and send  
 “ away those who shall be of inferior Force. If  
 “ you do this, you will consult your own Happi-  
 “ ness, and perform my Orders.” Then draw-  
 ing out one of his Bows (for he carried two at  
 that Time) and delivering it into her Hands,  
 with the Belt, which had a golden Cup hanging  
 at the lowest Seam, he took Leave and went  
 away. When her Sons had attain’d to the Age  
 of Men, she nam’d the eldest *Agathyrfis*, the se-  
 cond *Gelonus*, and the youngest *Scytha*; and re-  
 membring the Orders of *Hercules*, put them  
 in Execution, as he had enjoyn’d; but finding  
 two of her Sons, *Agathyrfis* and *Gelonus*, unable  
 to perform the things requir’d, she sent them  
 out of the Country; retaining *Scytha* her young-  
 est Son with her, because he had accomplish’d  
 the Will of his Father. All the Kings of *Scy-  
 thia* have been the Descendants of this *Scytha*  
 the Son of *Hercules*; and from his Time the  
 Scythians have always carried a Cup fasten’d to  
 the lower Part of their Belt. These things are  
 reported by the Grecians who inhabit *Pontus*:  
 But another Relation, which seems more pro-  
 bable to me, runs in this Manner. The *Scy-  
 thian* Nomades were once Inhabitants of *Asia*,  
 and being harrass’d by the *Massagetes* with fre-  
 quent Wars, they pass’d the River *Araxes*, and  
 enter’d the Country of the *Cimmerians*; who,  
 they say, were the ancient Possessors of those  
 Regions



Regions which are now inhabited by the Scythians. The Cimmerians finding themselves invaded by the Scythians with a numerous Army, assembled in Council, but could not come to any Agreement, because the Kings and the People were of different Sentiments; both founded upon strong Reasons, tho' that of the Kings was the more generous. For the People were of Opinion to abstain from Force, and not put all to hazard against so great a Multitude. But the Kings on the contrary advis'd, that they would oppose the Invaders of their Country by Arms. Thus when neither the People would assent to the Perswasions of the Kings, nor the Kings to those of the People; and one Party resolv'd to depart without fighting, and leave their Possessions to the Invaders; whilst the other reflecting on the great Advantages they had enjoy'd at Home, and the apparent Evils they must suffer if they should forsake their Country, determin'd rather to dye on the Spot, than betake themselves to Flight with the Multitude: In this Contrariety of Opinions they divided; and being equal in Numbers, the two Parties engag'd in Battle; and all those who fell in the Dispute, were buried by the rest of the People near the River *Tyras*; where their Sepulchre remains to this Day. When the Cimmerians had perform'd that Office, they abandon'd the Country and left it intirely dispeopled in the Possession of the Scythians. Divers Ports and Walls are still seen in *Scythia*, which retain the Name of Cimmerian; together with a whole Province, and a Bosphorus or a narrow Sea. 'Tis certain the Cimmerians who fled from the Scythians into

*Asia*, settled in that Peninsula where the City of *Sinope*, a Colony of the Grecians, was afterwards built: And 'tis no less evident that the Scythians pursuing them, fell into *Media*, and mistook their Way. For the Cimmerians in all their Flight never abandon'd the Coast of the Sea: Whereas the Scythians in their Pursuit leaving Mount *Caucasus* on the right Hand, deflected towards the midland Countries, and so enter'd *Media*. Another Report is generally current as well among the Grecians as Barbarians. For *Aristeas*, a Poet of *Proconnesus* and Son to *Caustrobis*, says in his Verses, that he was transported by *Apollo* into the Territories of the Issedonians; beyond which the Arimaspians inhabit, who are a People that have only one Eye; that the next Region abounds in Griffins, which guard the Gold of the Country; and that the Hyperboreans are situate yet farther, and extend themselves to the Sea: That all these, except the Hyperboreans, following the Example of the Arimaspians, were continually employ'd in making War against their Neighbours: That the Issedonians were expell'd by the Arimaspians; the Scythians by the Issedonians; and that the Cimmerians, who inhabited on the South-Sea, were forc'd by the Scythians to abandon their Country. So that this *Aristeas* differs from the Scythians in the Account he gives of these Regions. I have already mention'd the Place of his Birth, and shall now add what I heard concerning him in *Proconnesus* and *Cyzicus*. *Aristeas*, say they, who was inferior to no Man of the City in any kind, entering one Day into a Fuller's Shop, died suddenly: Upon which the Fuller,

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after he had shut up his Door, went and acquainted the Relation of the Deceas'd with what had happen'd. When the News of his Death had spread over the City, a certain Cyzicenean arriving from *Artace*, disputed the Truth of the Report; affirming that he had seen and convers'd with him in his Way to *Cyzicus*; and while he persisted obstinately to maintain his Assertion, the Relations of *Aristeas* had been at the Fuller's Shop, with all things necessary for removing the Body, but could not find him either alive or dead. In the seventh Year he appear'd again in *Proconnesus*; compos'd those Verses, which by the Grecians are call'd Arimasbian, and then disappear'd a second Time. These things are commonly reported in the Cities I have mention'd; and that which follows happen'd among the Metapontins of *Italy* three hundred and forty Years after the second Disappearing of *Aristeas* the Proconnesian, as I found by Computation in *Proconnesus* and *Metapontium*: At which Time, the Metapontins say, *Aristeas* appear'd in their City, and exhorted them to erect an Altar to *Apollo*, and a Statue by that Altar, which should bear the Name of *Aristeas* the Proconnesian; telling them, "They were the only  
 " Nation of the Italian Coast which had ever  
 " been favour'd with the Presence of *Apollo*;  
 " that he himself attended the God, and was  
 " then a Crow; tho' now he went under the  
 " Name of *Aristeas*." Having pronounc'd these Words he vanish'd; and the Metapontins say they went to *Delphi* to inquire of the God concerning the Apparition; and that the Pythian in Answer admonish'd them to obey the  
 A a Phantom,



Phantom, and their Affairs should be prosperous. In pursuance therefore of this Oracle, they did as *Aristeas* had desir'd, and his Statue is seen to this Day in the publick Place, erected near the Image of *Apollo*, and surrounded with Laurels. Thus much I thought fit to say concerning *Aristeas*.

No Man knows, with certainty, the Countries that lye beyond those, about which I am now to speak; neither could I ever find a Person who had view'd them with his own Eyes. *Aristeas* himself, who is just now mention'd, says, in his Verses, that he went no farther than the Issedonians, and that he learnt from them whatever he relates touching those Parts. Nevertheless, I shall repeat, as fully as I can, all that I have heard concerning this Matter. Above the principal Port of the Borysthenians, which is situate in the midst of the maritim Places of *Scythia*, the first People seen are the Callipedes, who derive their Original from *Greece*; and next to these is another Nation, call'd Halazons. Both these observe the Customs of the Scythians; except only that they sow Wheat, Onions, Garlick, Lentils, and Millet, for Food; whereas the Scythians, who lye beyond the Halazons, and are Husbandmen, sow Wheat, not for Food, but Sale. The Neurians are the next People, and I am inform'd that the northern Parts of their Country are utterly uninhabited. These Nations are situate along the River *Hypanis*, on the West Side of the *Borysthenes*. But if we pass over to the other Side of the *Borysthenes* from the Sea, we shall first enter into *Hylea*, and then into another Region possess'd by Scythians, who apply themselves

themselves to Agriculture, and are call'd Borysthenians, by those Grecians who inhabit on the *Hypanis*; tho' they give themselves the Name of Olbiopolitans. These Scythian Husbandmen possess, to the Eastward, a Country of three Days March, extending to the River call'd *Panticapes*; and of eleven Days Sail by the *Borysthenes* to the Northward. Beyond this Region lies a vast Desert, and beyond that Desert, a Country inhabited by the Androphages, or Men-eaters, who are a distinct People, and not of Scythian Extraction. All beyond this is uninhabited, no Man being found there, that we know. To the Eastward of those Scythians who apply themselves to the Culture of Land, and on the other Side of the River *Panticapes*, the Country is inhabited by Scythians, who neither plow nor sow, but are employ'd in keeping Cattle; none of those Parts producing Trees, except *Hylæa* only. These Herdsmen possess a Tract of Land of fourteen Days March from the East to the River *Gerrhus*. On the other Side of this River are the Royal Provinces, full of People; and possess'd by the most valiant of all the Scythians, who think all the rest to be only their Slaves. Their Country extends from the South to Mount *Taurus*; and from the East to the Intrenchments that were made by the Sons of the blind Men, and to the Port of *Chremni*, on the Lake *Mæotis*; besides that Part which borders upon the River *Tanais*. Above these Royal Scythians the Melanchlanians inhabit to the Northward; a distinct Nation, and not of Scythian Race. But beyond them all is full of Fens, and uninhabited, as we are inform'd.

THE Regions that lye beyond the River *Tanais*, are no Part of *Scythia*. The first Portion belongs to the Sauromatians; who inhabit a Country of fifteen Days March from the farthest Part of the Lake *Mæotis* to the Northward, destitute of all kind of Trees, either wild or cultivated. The second is possess'd by the Budians; abounding in Trees of all sorts, and ending in a Desert of seven Days Journey: Next to which, and a little deflecting to the Eastward, the Tyssagetes inhabit; who are a separate People, very numerous, and living upon the Venison they take. The Iyreians are contiguous to these; and possessing another Part of the Country, subsist also by hunting, in this Manner. They climb the Trees (which abound in all Places) and wait for the Game, attended by a Dog, and a Horse taught to lye down upon his Belly to prevent Discovery. When the Hunter sees the Beast from the Tree, he lets fly an Arrow, mounts his Horse, and pursues the Chace with his Dog. The next Region to the Eastward, is inhabited by Scythians, who separating from the Royal Scythians, settled themselves there. Thus far *Scythia* is a plain Country, and of a deep Soil: But the rest is rocky and uneven. After a long and difficult Passage from hence, arriving at the Foot of very high Mountains, Men discover a certain People, who naturally, both Men and Women, are bald from their Infancy. They have short retorted Noses, and great Chins; speak a peculiar Language; wear the Scythian Habit; and feed upon the Fruit of a Tree which they call Ponticon, equal to the Fig-tree in Bigness; and bearing Fruit with a Kernel of the Shape of a Bean.



When this Fruit is ripe, they put it into a Press, and squeeze out a thick and black Liquor, call'd Aschy, which they suck, and drink mingled with Milk; making Cakes of the Sediment, to serve instead of other Food: For they have few Cattle in these Parts, because they are not industrious. They sleep in the Winter under Trees, which are cover'd with a strong white Cloth; in the Summer without any other Covering than the Tree. No Man offers Violence to this People; for they are accounted sacred, and have no warlike Weapon among them. They determine the Differences that arise among their Neighbours; and whoever flies thither for Refuge, is permitted to live unmolested. This bald People goes by the Name of Argippæans. Their Country has a wide Prospect of all the Regions before mention'd, and one may, without Difficulty, be inform'd concerning them; because not only some of the Scythians, but the Grecians, inhabiting the Ports of the *Borysthenes* and of *Pontus*, frequent these Parts. The Scythians arrive in this Country, thro' seven different Languages, and by the help of seven sorts of Interpreters. Thus far therefore things are known: But no Man can speak with certainty of those Regions that are situate beyond these bald Men. For high and inaccessible Mountains render the Way impracticable. Yet they pretend that those Mountains are inhabited by Men who have Feet like Goats, which is to me incredible: And that beyond those Hills another People is found, who sleep continually the Space of six Months; which I can less admit for true than the former. We certainly know

that the Issedonians inhabit to the Eastward of this bald Nation. But whatever lies to the Northward, either of the Argippæans or Issedonians, is utterly unknown, except only from what they are pleased to tell us.

THE Issedonians are said to observe these Customs. When a Man's Father dies, all his Relations bring him Sheep; which, when they have sacrific'd, and divided into Pieces, they likewise cut the Body of his dead Parent into like Portions, and having mingled all this Flesh together, sit down to feast. Then taking off the Hair, and cleansing the Head, they gild the Skull, and annually celebrate magnificent Sacrifices to this Relick. Every Son performs these Funeral-Rites to his Father, as a Grecian solemnises the Day of his Nativity. They add farther, that this Nation is likewise accounted just, and that the Women are not inferior in Fortitude to the Men. These Countries are not unknown. But the Issedonians affirm, that the Regions beyond them, are possess'd by Men who have only one Eye, and by Griffins that guard the Gold. The Scythians repeat these things from the Issedonians; and we have them from the Scythians, who give the Name of Arimaspians to the People above-mention'd, because *Arima*, in the Scythian Language, signifies *One*, and *Spos* an *Eye*. All this Country is so infested with Cold during the Winter, and Frosts so excessive for eight Months in the Year, that if a Man pour Water on the Earth, he shall not make Dirt, unless he stand by a Fire. Even the Sea freezes; together with the whole *Cimmerian Bosphorus*, in such a Manner, that the Scythians who live within the Intrenchment,

trenchment, lead their Armies, and drive their Chariots over the Ice as far as *India*. Eight Months their Winter continues; and the other four are more than ordinarily Cold; the Climate differing from all others in this particular, that little or no Rain falls in the proper Season, and that the Summer is incessantly wet. Thunder is frequent in Summer; but seldom heard at those Times when 'tis most common in other Parts. If any happen in Winter, 'tis taken for a Progidy; and an Earthquake either in Summer or Winter, is no less astonishing. Their Horses are not affected by the long continued Cold; but their Mules and Asses are unable to resist the Beginnings of the Winter: Whereas in other Places, Horses are ruin'd by that Cold, which Mules and Asses easily bear. These Winters seem to me to be the Cause, why their Cows and Oxen have no Horns; and the following Verse of *Homer* in his *Odyssey* confirms my Opinion;

*And Libya, where the Lambs have early Horns.*

Rightly intimating, that the Horns of Cattle shoot speedily in hot Countries; for in those which are violently cold, they either cannot shoot early, or never grow to any Bignets. These are the Effects of Cold in *Scythia*: And because I always propos'd to my self to make such Inquiries, I must not omit to mention my Surprise, that no Mules are ingender'd in all the Territories of *Elis*, tho' the Climate be no Way distemper'd with Cold, nor any visible Cause of this Defect appear. The *Eleans* pretend they are under the Force of a Charm in this particular; and therefore at the Times of Breeding, they



lead their Mares to some of the Parts adjacent ; where they cause them to be cover'd by He-Affes, and after they have conceiv'd, bring them Home again. Touching the Feathers, with which the Scythians say the Air is so fill'd that Men can neither see nor pass farther upon the Continent, my Opinion is, that perpetual Snows fall in those Parts, tho' probably in less Quantity during the Summer than in Winter : And whoever has observ'd great Abundance of Snow falling, will easily comprehend what I say ; for the Snow is not unlike to Feathers. On this Account therefore, as I conjecture, the Regions situate to the Northward of that Continent, are uninhabited ; and the Scythians with other adjoining People, imagine the Snow to be Feathers. But I have insisted long enough on these Reports.

CONCERNING the Hyperboreans, nothing is said either by the Scythians or any other Nation that inhabit those Parts, except the Issedonians ; and as I think they say little to the Purpose, so I am of Opinion the Scythians could inform us no better than they have done of the People with one Eye : *Hesiod* indeed mentions the Hyperboreans, and *Homer* speaks of them in his *Epigones*, if we may believe him to have been the Author of those Verses. But the Delians say much more about the Hyperboreans ; affirming that their sacred things were transmitted to *Scythia* wrapp'd in a Bundle of Wheat-Straw, and from the Scythians gradually advanc'd thro' the bordering Nations ; 'till they penetrated very far Westward, and were receiv'd in *Adria* : That from hence they travell'd towards  
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the South, and that the Dodonæans were the first of all the Grecians who admitted them: That by this Way they descended to the Gulph of *Melis*; pass'd into *Eubæa*, and from thence thro' various Cities to *Carystus*: That they were not introduc'd among the Andrians; but that the Carystians transported them to *Tenus*, and the Tenians to *Delos*: In this Manner the Delians say they receiv'd these Rites. They add, that the Hyperboreans had first sent two Virgins to carry these sacred things abroad, and call them by the Names of *Hyperoche* and *Laodice*: That for their Security they appointed five Citizens to accompany them, whose Memory is to this Day in great Veneration among the Delians, and their Persons known by the Title of *Peripherees*: But the Hyperboreans finding that none of those they had charged with these Orders, return'd Home, were greatly displeas'd; and tying up their Holy things in a Bundle of Wheat-Straw, dispatch'd certain Persons to carry them into the next adjacent Countries, and to exhort the Inhabitants to send them forward to other Nations. And thus the Delians say these sacred Rites were introduc'd, thro' many other Parts, into their Island. Something like these Mysteries, I have observ'd among the Thracian and Pæonian Women, when they sacrifice to *Diana the Royal*. For they never celebrate those Ceremonies without using the the Straw of Wheat, as I my self have seen. These Hyperborean Virgins died in *Delos*, and their Memory is honour'd by the Delian Maids and young Men in this Manner. The Maids cut off a Lock of their Hair before Marriage; which they wind about a Distaff, and dedicate

dedicate upon the Sepulchre of the Virgins, built within the Temple of *Diana* on the left Hand of the Entrance, and cover'd by an Olive-tree. The young Men twist their Hair about a Tuft of Grass, and consecrate it on the same Monument: Such Veneration is paid to these Virgins by the Inhabitants of *Delos*. They likewise say, that *Argis* and *Opis* two other Hyperborean Virgins landed at *Delos* in the same Age, before *Hyperoche* and *Laodice*: That these last came only to make an Acknowledgment to *Lucina* for a speedy Delivery; but that *Argis* and *Opis* arriv'd with the Gods, and were honour'd by the Delians with great Solemnities; for the Women assembling together sing a Hymn to their Praise compos'd by *Olen* the Lycian, which the Ionians and Islanders afterwards learnt to perform in the same Manner: That the Names of *Argis* and *Opis* are frequently repeated in the Hymn, and that this Lycian was the Author of other ancient Compositions which are sung in *Delos*: That the Ashes of the Sacrifices burnt on the Altar are thrown upon their Sepulchre, which stands behind the Temple of *Diana*, facing to the East, and adjoyning to the Refectory of the Ceians. And this I think sufficient to say concerning the Hyperboreans. For I shall not mention the Fable of *Abaris*, who, they say, was of that Country, and, without eating, carried an Arrow thro' all the Parts of the World. Yet if there be any Hyperboreans, lying so far to the Northward, we may as well presume there are other Hyperaustralian People inhabiting to the Southward. And here I cannot forbear Laughter, when I consider how many Men have describ'd the Circumference of the Earth



Earth without any kind of Judgment; pretending that the Ocean surrounds the whole; that the Earth is round as a Ball; and that *Europe* is equal in Extent to *Asia*. I shall therefore briefly discover the Dimensions of each Part, and give a just Description of their Form. The Countries inhabited by the Persians, and extending Southward, are bounded by the *Red Sea*; to the Northward they have the Medes; then the Sapirians, and beyond these the Colchians, whose Country reaches to the North Sea, into which the River *Phasis* runs. These four Nations possess whatever lies between those Seas. To the Westward, two Tracts of Land lye extended along the Shore, which I shall describe. One of these, beginning at the River *Phasis*, descends Northward to the Sea by the Way of *Pontus* and the *Hellefont*, down to the Trojan *Sigæum*; and is extended to the Southward from the Gulph of *Mariandynia*, which borders upon *Phœnicia*, to the Promontory of *Triopis*. This Region is inhabited by thirty several Nations. The other begins among the Persians and reaches to the *Red Sea*; comprehending likewise *Assyria*, and terminating in the Gulph of *Arabia*: which could not have been, if *Darius* had not introduc'd the *Nile* by Canals into that Sea. The Countries that lye between the Persians and Phœnicians are spacious and of great Extent. From *Phœnicia* the same Coast stretches along the Sea by the *Palæstine* *Syria* and *Ægypt*; terminates there, and contains only three Nations. These Regions are situate in *Asia*, from *Persia* to the Westward; and those that lye beyond the Persians, Medes, Sapirians and Colchians, are bounded on the East  
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by the *Red Sea* and on the North by the *Caspian*, and the River *Araxes*, which flows towards the Rising Sun. All *Asia* is inhabited, even to *India*: But beyond *India* whatever lies to the Eastward, is Desert, or utterly unknown. Such, and so great is *Asia*. *Libya* is in another Region, and begins where *Ægypt* terminates. In this Part the Country is narrow; and no more than a hundred thousand Rod, or one thousand Stades, are computed from the *Ægyptian* to the *Red Sea*. Beyond these Streights, the Coast opens, and becoming vastly spacious is call'd *Libya*. I admire therefore as those who have made the Division and Separation of *Europe*, *Libya*, and *Asia*; because the Disproportion is great. For tho' *Europe* exceed the other in Length; yet in Breadth it is not comparable to either. *Libya* is surrounded by the Sea, except in that Part which borders upon *Asia*: And this Discovery was first made by *Necus* King of *Ægypt*; who after he had desisted from opening the Chanel, that conveys the Waters of the *Nile* into the Arabian Gulph, furnish'd certain Phœnicians with Ships, in order to pass by the Columns of *Hercules* into the Northern Sea, and then to return to *Ægypt*. These Men set sail from the *Red Sea*, and entering into the Southern Sea, went ashore in *Libya* about the Time of the Autumnal Equinox, and having sow'd the Land in what Part soever they arriv'd, waited the Time of Harvest, and when they had cut the Corn, put to Sea again. After they had spent two Years in their Voyage, they pass'd by the Columns of *Hercules* in the third; and returning to *Ægypt*, related a thing which I cannot believe, tho' perhaps

haps others may ; affirming, that as they sail'd round the Coast of *Libya*, they had the Sun on their right Hand. And in this Manner *Libya* was first discover'd. Since that Time, the Carthaginians say, that *Satastes* the Son of *Teastes* one of the Achæmenian Blood, was sent with Orders to sail round *Libya*, and did not finish his Enterprize: But tir'd with the Length of the Voyage, and the inhospitable Desarts, return'd Home without accomplishing this Labour; which was impos'd upon him by his Mother, for forcing a Virgin, who was Daughter to *Zopyrus* the Son of *Megabyfus*. *Xerxes* had condemn'd him to be impal'd for this Crime: But his Mother, who was Sister to *Darius*, sav'd him from that Death, by assuring the King she would inflict a greater Punishment upon her Son, than he had appointed; by enjoining him to surround the Coast of *Libya*, till he should arrive in the Gulph of *Arabia*. *Xerxes* accepted her Proposition, and *Satastes* departed into *Ægypt*: Where, having furnish'd himself with Ships and Men, he set sail; and passing by the Pillars of *Hercules*, doubled the Libyan Cape of *Sylois*, and steer'd to the Southward. But after he had been many Months at Sea, and found many more would be necessary to finish his Voyage, he discontinued his Course, and return'd to *Ægypt*. From thence he went to *Xerxes*, and told him he had sail'd very far, and seen a Nation of little Men cloath'd in the Phœnician Habit, who upon the Approach of his Ships left their Cities, and fled to the Mountains; that he had indeed taken some Provisions in their Country; but had not done them any other Injury. Then, to excuse himself



himself for not performing his Voyage, he alledg'd, that his Ships became immoveable, and hindred him from proceeding farther. But *Xerxes* not believing what he said, put the former Sentence in Execution, and commanded him to be impal'd, because he had not accomplish'd the Enterprize imposed on him : Upon which the Eunuch of *Sataspes* hearing of his Master's Death, ran away with great Riches to *Samos* ; where a certain Samian, whose Name I forbear to mention, defrauded him of all.

MUCH of *Asia* was discover'd in the Reign of *Darius*. For that King being desirous to know in what Part the *Indus*, which is the second River that produces Crocodiles, runs into the Sea, sent *Scylax* of *Caryanda* with others of approv'd Fidelity to make the Discovery. Accordingly they departed in divers Ships from *Caspatorus* and the Territories of *Pactya* ; sail'd down the River Eastward to the Sea, and then altering their Course towards the West, arriv'd in the thirtieth Month at that Place where the King of *Ægypt* had caused the Phœnicians I mention'd before to embark, in order to surround the Coast of *Libya*. After this Voyage, *Darius* subdued the Indians, and became Master of that Sea. By which Means, without accounting those Regions that are situate in the Eastern Parts, the rest of *Asia*, is known to be equal in Extent to *Libya*. But *Europe* has not been fully discovered by any Man ; and we have no Account whether it be bounded on the North and East sides by the Sea, or not : Only we know that in Length 'tis not unequal to the other Parts. And I cannot comprehend with what Reason Men have impos'd

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three distinct Names upon the Earth, which is but one ; and those properly the Names of Women ; some limiting this arbitrary Division by the *Ægyptian Nile*, and the *Colchian Phasis* ; and others by the River of *Tanais*, the Lake *Mæotis*, and the *Cimmerian Bosphorus*. Nor could I ever learn by what Persons these Names were impos'd, and from what Original they were deriv'd. The most prevailing Opinion among the Grecians is, that *Libya* was so call'd from a Woman of that Name and Country ; and *Asia* from the Wife of *Prometheus*. But the Lydians put in a Claim to the last, and say that *Asia* had its Name from *Asius* the Son of *Cotys*, and Grandson to *Maneus*, and not from *Asia* the Wife of *Prometheus* ; alledging for a Proof of their Assertion, that they have a Tribe in *Sardis* which goes under the Name of the Asian Tribe. In Conclusion, no Man knows whether *Europe* be surrounded by the Sea ; nor from whence that Name was deriv'd. Neither are we more certain who was the first Imposer ; unless we will say that the Tyrian *Europa* gave her Name to that Region, which, like the rest, before her Time had none. Besides, we are sure she was of *Asia*, and never came into those Parts which are now call'd *Europe* by the Grecians ; but arriv'd in *Crete* from *Phœnicia*, and from thence sail'd to *Libya*. Thus having reported the common Opinions, I shall say no more concerning these things.

A L L the Nations that border on the *Euxine Sea*, are extremely ignorant, except the Scythians, against whom *Darius* was preparing to make War : And we have nothing to say touching the Wisdom of any of those People ; nor ever heard

of any learned Man among them, *Anacharsis* and other Scythians only excepted. But in *Scythia* one thing is observ'd more prudently contriv'd than in any other Nation we know. For whoever enters their Country, can never make his Escape; neither are the Scythians ever to be found, unless they are willing; because they have no Cities, nor inclos'd Places; but every Man has a moveable House; and fights on Horseback, arm'd with a Bow and Arrows. They have not their Subsistence from the Plow, but from the Cattle, and use Carts instead of Houses. If these things were not so, they would be an easy Conquest, and unable to make Resistance. The Situation of their Country, which is Level, and the Frequency of their Rivers, have greatly contributed to these Advantages. For the Soil is rich and well water'd; and the Rivers are almost as numerous as the Canals of *Ægypt*. Of these the most celebrated, and most navigable from the Sea, are, the *Ister*, the *Tyres*, the *Hypanis*, the *Borysthenes*, the *Panticapes*, the *Hypacyris*, the *Gerrbus* and the *Tanais*. The *Ister* is the greatest of all Rivers we know, flowing with an equal Stream both in Summer and Winter, and descends from the Westward into *Scythia*. This River becomes so great by the Addition of many other Waters. In the first Place, five several Rivers passing thro' *Scythia*, contribute to swell its Stream. The first of these is by the Scythians call'd *Porata*, and by the Grecians *Pyretion*. The other four go under the Names of *Tiarantus*, *Ararus*, *Naparis*, and *Ordissus*. The *Porata* is a considerable River; and running towards the East, flows into the *Ister*. The *Tiarantus* is  
 less,



and deflects rather to the Westward: The *Ararus*, *Naparis*, and *Ordissus*, pass between both, and fall likewise into the same River. All these are properly Scythian Rivers; but the *Maris* descends from the Agathyrsians, and mixes with the same Stream. The *Atlas*, the *Auras*, and the *Tibesis*, three great Rivers rising in the Mountains of *Hæmus*, and descending Northward; besides the *Athres*, *Noes*, and *Atarnes*, which pass thro' *Thrace* and the *Thracian* Crobyzians; and the River *Cius*, beginning in the *Pæonian* and *Rhodopean* Hills, and flowing thro' the midst of *Hæmus*: All these likewise discharge their Waters into the *Ister*. In like Manner the *Angrus*, a River of *Illyria*, flowing towards the North, and crossing the Plains of *Traballis*, enters into the *Brongus*; and both these, considerable in themselves, are receiv'd together by the River *Ister*. And lastly, from the Regions that are situate above the *Umbricians*, two other Rivers, which go by the Names of *Carpis* and *Alpis*, descending to the Northward, fall into the same Stream. The *Ister* rises in the Country of the *Celtes*, who, with the *Cynetes*, inhabit the remotest Parts of *Europe* to the Westward, and traversing all the European Regions, enters obliquely into the Borders of *Scythia*. And thus, by the Addition of the Waters I have mention'd, with the Contributions of divers other Streams, the *Ister* becomes the greatest of all Rivers. But if we compare the Waters of the *Nile*, with those that properly belong to the *Ister*, we shall find the former much superior in Quantity; because no River or Fountain enters into the *Nile*, nor contributes any thing to its Increase. The *Ister* is

of equal Height in Summer and in Winter, for this Reason, as I conjecture. The Rains of Winter, tho' moderate, raise the *Ister* to its full Height, or rather somewhat higher than ordinary; and in Summer the Snows, which never fail to cover the Country during the Winter-Season, melting and running down from all Parts, together with copious and frequent Rains, keep the River full: And, tho' more Water falls into the *Ister* in Summer than in Winter, yet the Sun in compensation exhaling a great Part of that Moisture, renders the Stream, in a Manner, equal in both Seasons. The first River then of *Scythia* is the *Ister*. The second is the *Tyres*, which comes from the North, issuing out of a vast Lake, and separates *Scythia* from *Nebris*. At the Mouth of this River certain Grecians inhabit, who, for that Reason, are call'd Tyrites. The third is the *Hypanis*, descending likewise from a great Lake in *Scythia*, which is deservedly nam'd the Mother of that River. Great Numbers of wild Horses, white of Colour, are seen grazing about the Borders of this Lake. The Chancel of the *Hypanis* is narrow, and the Water sweet, during the Navigation of five Days; but then becomes horribly bitter, and so continues for four Days Voyage down to the Sea. This Effect is caus'd by the Bitterness of a Spring; small indeed, yet so very bitter, as to infect the *Hypanis*; which nevertheless is equal to most other Rivers in Bigness. This Spring rises in the Borders of the Scythian Husbandmen and Alazons, and from that Part of the Country is call'd by the Name of *Exampæus*; which, in the Grecian Language, signifies,

fics, *The sacred Ways*. The *Tyres* and *Hypanis* run near together, along the Territories of the *Alazons*, and then separating, leave a wide Space between each Chanel. The *Borysthenes*, which is the fourth and greatest River of *Scythia*, after the *Ister*, surpasses, in my Opinion, not only the rest of the *Scythian Rivers*, but all others, except the *Ægyptian Nile*; to which none may justly be compar'd. This noble River renders the adjoining Lands beautiful, and abounding in Pasture for the Cattle; affords great Variety of exquisite Fish, and Water of a most pleasant Taste. The Streams are pure and limpid, tho' passing thro' a rich Soil; and the bordering Plains produce excellent Corn, with Plenty of Grass in the Places which are left uncultivated. At the Mouth of this River abundance of Salt is incessantly made by the Hand of Nature; and a sort of Whale is taken, of great Bigness, and without any spinous Bones; which the *Scythians* use to salt, and call by the Name of *Antacæus*. So much of the *Borysthenes* is known, as may be navigated in a Voyage of forty Days, from the North to the Country of *Gerrbus*: But no Man can affirm any thing certain concerning the remoter Parts, thro' which this River passes: Probably they are uninhabited Desarts, down to the Regions of the *Scythian Husbandmen*, that lie extended along the River during a Sail of ten Days. The Head of the *Borysthenes*, as well as that of the *Nile*, is unknown to me, and, I think, to all other *Grecians*. This River, and the *Hypanis*, joyn at a little Distance from the Sea, and discharge their Waters together. The Space that lies between the two Streams, is call'd the Pro-



montory of *Hyppoleon*, in which a Temple dedicated to *Ceres* is built, and beyond that Temple the Borysthenians inhabit the Country to the River *Hypanis*. But we have said enough of these. The fifth River is the *Panticapés*, which also descends from the North, and out of a Lake; and between this River and the *Borysthenes*, the Country is inhabited by Scythian Husbandmen. The *Panticapés* enters into *Hylæa*, and passing quite thro' that Region, mixes with the *Borysthenes*. The *Hypacaris* is the sixth River; which beginning in a Lake, traverses the Country of the Scythian Herdsmen; and then closing the Borders of *Hylæa* on the right, together with that Place, which is call'd the *Race of Achilles*, rolls into the Sea at the City of *Carcinitis*. The seventh is the *Gerrhus*; which, by a Country of the same Name, is separated from the *Borysthenes*, in those Parts where this River begins to be known; dividing the Territories of the Herdsmen from those of the Royal Scythians, and then falling into the *Hypacaris*. The eighth River is the *Tanais*, originally descending from a great Lake, and entering into another yet greater, call'd *Mæotis*, which separates the Royal Scythians and the Sarmatians. The River *Hygris* runs into the *Tanais*; and all these celebrated Rivers serve for the Use and Defence of *Scythia*. The Grass that grows in this Country is the most bitter of any we have seen, as Experience shews at the opening of the Cattle. Such are the most considerable Advantages of the Scythians. Their Customs and religious Ceremonies are establish'd in this Manner. They worship no other Gods than these. In the first Place *Vesta*,  
who

who is their principal Deity : Then *Jupiter* ; and the Earth, which is accounted his Wife : After them *Apollo* ; *Venus*, *Urania* ; *Hercules*, and *Mars*. All these are generally acknowledg'd : But those who go under the Name of Royal Scythians, sacrifice likewise to *Neptune*. *Vesta*, in the Scythian Language is call'd *Tabiti* : *Jupiter* is, in my Opinion, rightly nam'd *Papæus* : The Earth *Apia* : *Apollo* *Oetosyrus* : The Celestial *Venus* *Artimpasa*, and *Neptune* *Thamimasades*. They erect no Images, Altars, or Temples, to any other God, except *Mars* alone. Their Sacrifices are perform'd in all Temples alike, without Variation, and in this Manner. The Animal is led out, and after they have tied his Forefeet together, he who sacrifices standing behind him, first takes off the Band, then strikes the Victim, and as he falls, invokes the God they worship. This done, he throws a Halter about his Neck, and straining the Cord with a Stick, strangles him ; without kindling any Fire, or offering either first Fruits or Libations. When he hath perform'd this Office, and taken off the Skin from the Body, he immediately applies himself to dress the Flesh. But because the Country is very ill furnish'd with Wood, the Scythians have found out this Contrivance. When they have flay'd the Victim, they strip the Bones, and put the Flesh into Pots, made in *Scythia*, and resembling those of *Lesbos* in Form, tho' not altogether so large. Then making a Fire of the Bones, they boil the Flesh of the Animal. If they have no Pot at Hand, they throw all the Flesh into the Paunch, with a competent Quantity of Water, and burn the Bones underneath. So this Fire being abundantly

dantly sufficient for the Purpose, and the Paunch easily containing all the Meat separated from the Bones, the Ox, and all other Cattle us'd in their Sacrifices, furnish all things necessary to boil themselves. When the Flesh is sufficiently prepar'd, he that sacrifices, in the first Place, makes an Offering of Part of the Meat and Intestines, which he throws out before him. They make use of divers sorts of Cattle in these Sacrifices, but chiefly of Horses: And this is the Form of their Oblations to all the Gods they worship, except only *Mars*; who, according to an ancient Custom, has an Altar in every District, built in the following manner. A great Quantity of small Wood, tied up in Bundles, is brought together, and plac'd upon three Stades of Land, covering the whole Ground both in Length and Breadth; but not of a proportionable Height. The Top is quadrangular; three of the Sides perpendicular, and the fourth a gradual Declivity, and easy Access. One hundred and fifty Loads of Faggots are annually brought to this Place; because many are putrified by the Winter. On each of these Heaps an old Scymeter of Iron is erected, which they call the Image of *Mars*, and honour with yearly Sacrifices of Horses and other Cattle, in greater Abundance than they offer to the rest of their Gods. They likewise sacrifice to this Deity every hundredth Man of the Prisoners they take from their Enemies: But in a different Manner from the Offerings they make of other Animals. For after they have pour'd a Libation of Wine on the Head of the Prisoner, they cut his Throat over a Bowl, and then ascending the Heap of Faggots, wash the Sword with



with his Blood. This they do at the Top of the Altar : And below , after they have kill'd the Man on the sacred Place, they cut off his right Arm by the Shoulder ; which they throw into the Air, and leave on the Ground where it falls. Thus the Body lies in one Part, and the Arm in another. When they have perform'd these and other Ceromonies , they depart. And such are the Sacrifices instituted by the Scythians. They make no Use of Swine, nor will suffer any to be kept in their Country.

THE Military Affairs of *Scythia* are order'd in this Manner. Every Scythian drinks the Blood of the first Prisoner he takes, and presents the King with the Heads of the Enemies he has kill'd in Fight. For if he brings a Head, he is intituled to a Share of the Booty, otherwise not. They flay these Heads by cutting a Circle round the Neck close under the Ears, and stripping off the Skin , as they would do that of an Ox : Then they soften the Skin with their Hands ; and these Skins thus prepar'd serve instead of Napkins , hanging on the Bridles of their Horses when they ride. He who has the greater Number of these, thinks best of himself, and is accounted the most valiant Man. Many Scythians cloath themselves with the Skins of Men sew'd together, as others with the Skins of Beasts ; and frequently stripping the right Hands of the Enemies they have kill'd, extend those Skins with their Nails, and use them for Coverings to their Quivers. For the Skin of a Man is thick, and of a brighter white, than that of any other Animal. Many take off the Skins of Men intire, and carry them about on Horseback stretch'd out

upon a Board. These Usages are receiv'd among the Scythians. Yet they are not accustom'd to use all Heads alike; for those of their greatest Enemies are treated in the following Manner. They cut off the whole Face from the Eyebrows downwards, and having cleans'd the rest, if they are poor, they content themselves to cover the Skull with Leather: But the Rich, besides this Covering of Leather, gild the inside with Gold; and these serve instead of Cups for their Drink. They do the same to their familiar Friends; if upon any dispute they conquer them in the Presence of the King. When they entertain any Stranger of Consideration, they shew him these Heads, and relating the injurious Usage they receiv'd from their Friends, together with the Victory they obtain'd, value themselves much upon these Actions. Every Provincial Governour provides a Vessel of Wine once a Year in his own Province, to treat all those Scythians who have kill'd Enemies: Whilst those who have not perform'd any such Exploit, sit at a Distance with shame, and are not permitted to taste the Liquor; which is accounted a great Disgrace: But they who have kill'd many Men, drink out of two Cups, which they bring with them. The Scythians abound in Prophets, who divine by Rods of Willow in the following Manner. They collect great Bundles of these Twigs; which they lay down, and open on the Ground. Then separating the whole Parcel one from the other, they begin to utter their Predictions, and whilst they are yet speaking, gather up the Rods again, and tye them in Fagots as before. This Way of Divination is originally

nally Scythian; but the Enarians and Androgynes pretend that *Venus* gave them the Power of predicting by the Bark of a Lime-tree, which they split in three Places; and tearing the Parts asunder with their Fingers, pronounce the Oracle. When the King of *Scythia* is sick, he sends for three of the most famous of these Prophets; and they generally tell him, that some Scythian, whom they name, has perjur'd himself, in swearing falsely by the Royal Throne. For that is the Oath which the Scythians swear, when they would affirm a thing with the greatest Solemnity. The Person accus'd is presently seiz'd, and brought into the King's Presence; where the Prophets charge him with Perjury, and pretend to have discover'd by their Art, that he has sworn falsely by the Throne, and so brought this Distemper upon the King. If he deny the Fact, and complain of the Injury, the King sends for a double Number of Prophets: And in Case they confirm the former Judgment after they have perform'd the usual Ceremonies, the Man immediately loses his Head, and the first three divide his Riches among themselves. But if they judge him innocent, more and more of these Diviners are call'd; and if he is at last acquitted by a Plurality of Voices, those who first accus'd him are condemn'd to dye; and the Sentence is executed in this Manner. When they have laid a great Quantity of small Wood upon a cover'd Cart drawn by Oxen, they tye the Prophets Hand and Foot; stop their Mouths, and place them close together on the midst of the Fagots: Then setting fire to the Pile; and terrifying the Oxen with loud Exclamations, they



they withdraw. Many of these Beasts are consum'd with the Diviners, and many escape half burnt, by running away after the Axle-tree falls asunder. In this Manner, and sometimes for other Reasons, they burn these Men, and call them false Prophets. The King never spares the Sons of those he puts to Death; but destroying all the Males, saves only the Female Children.

THE Scythians in their Alliances and Contracts use the following Ceremonies with all Men. They pour Wine into a large Earthen Vessel, and mingle it with Blood taken from those who are to swear, by making a slight Wound in their Flesh with a Knife or Sword. When they have done this, they dip a Scymeter, some Arrows, a Bill, and a Javelin in the Vessel; and after many Imprecations, the Persons appointed to conclude the Agreement, with the most considerable Men there Present, drink off the Liquor. The Sepulchres of the Kings are in the Country of the Gerrhians, where the *Borysthenes* is first known to be navigable. When their King dies, they dig a great Hole in the Ground, of a quadrangular Form, and having receiv'd the Body cover'd with Wax, they open and cleanse the Belly, filling the Space with bruised Cypress, Incense, Seeds of Parsley, and Anis: And after they have sow'd up the Belly again, they carry the Body in a Chariot to another Province; where, those who receive it imitate the Royal Scythians in the following Custom. They cut off Part of one Ear; shave their Heads; wound themselves on the Arms, Forehead, and Nose; and pierce the left Hand with an Arrow. Having done thus, they accompany

company the Chariot to another District; and this Manner is observ'd in every Province; till having carried the dead Body of the King thro' all his Dominions, they bury him in the Country of the Gerrhians, who inhabit the remotest Parts of the Kingdom. Here they lay him in the Sepulchre, upon a Bed encompass'd on all sides with Spears; which they cover with Timber, and spread a Canopy over the whole Monument. In the Spaces that remain vacant, they place one of the King's Concubines strangled; with a Cup-bearer; a Cook; a Groom; a Waiter; a Messenger; certain Horses; and some of all things necessary. To these they add Cups of Gold; because Silver and Brass are not used among them. This done, they throw up the Earth with great Diligence, and endeavour to raise the Mound as high as possibly they can. After a Year is expir'd, they perform these things farther. They chuse such Servants as they judge most useful, out of the King's Household; which consists wholly of native Scythians. For the King takes those that please him best, and is never serv'd by Men bought with Money. These Officers being fifty in Number, they strangle; and with them fifty beautiful Horses; and after they have emptied and cleans'd their Bellies, they fill them with Straw, and sow them up again. Then they lay two Planks of a semicircular Form upon four Pieces of Timber, plac'd at a convenient Distance, with the half Circle upwards; and when they have erected a sufficient Number of these Machines, they set the Horses upon them, spitted with a strong Pole quite thro' the Body to the Neck: And thus one Semicircle supports

supports the Shoulders of the Horse, the other his Flank, and his Legs are suspended in the Air. After this they bridle the Horses, and hanging the Reins at full Length upon Posts erected to that End, mount one of the fifty young Men they have strangled, upon each Horse, and fix him in the Seat, by driving a strait Stick upwards from the End of the back Bone to his Head, and fastening the lowest Part of that Stick in an Aperture of the Beam that spits the Horses. Then placing these Horsemen quite round the Monument, they all depart. And this is the Manner of the King's Funeral. But when any other Scythian dies, his nearest Relations carry him about in a Chariot among his Friends; who receive and entertain the whole Company, in their Turn, setting the same things before the dead Man as before the rest. In this Manner all private Men are carried about forty Days, before they are buried: And those who have assisted at these Funerals, purify themselves thus. When they have cleans'd and wash'd their Heads, they set up three Pieces of Timber leaning to each other, and laying a good Number of woollen Baggs close together, throw burning Stones into a hollow Space left in the midst of the Wood and Baggs. In this Country a sort of Hemp grows, very like to Flax; only longer and thicker; and much more excellent than ours, whether sow'd or produc'd by Nature. The Thracians cloath themselves with Garments made of this Hemp; so well resembling Flax, that a Man must have great Experience in those Materials to distinguish one from the other: And he who had never seen this Hemp, would think  
their



their Cloaths were wrought out of Flax. The Scythians put the Seeds of this Hemp under the Baggs, upon the burning Stones; and immediately a more agreeable Vapour is emitted than from the Incense burnt in *Greece*. The Company extremely transported with the Scent, howl aloud; and this Manner of Purification serves instead of washing: For they never bath their Bodies in Water. But their Wives grinding the Wood of Cypress, Cedar, and Incense upon a rough Stone, and infusing the Powder in Water, compound a thick Substance, which they spread over all the Parts of the Body and Face. This Composition is taken off the next Day, and renders the Women sweet, shining, and clean. They studiously avoid the Use of any other Customs than their own; not admitting even those of their Scythian Neighbours; and are particularly averse to those of the Grecians, as the Examples of *Anacharsis*, and afterwards of *Scyles*, sufficiently demonstrate. For *Anacharsis*, after he had view'd many Countries, and acquir'd great Wisdom, sailing thro' the *Hellespont* in his Return to *Scythia*, and landing at *Cyzicus*, found the Inhabitants of that Place celebrating a Festival to the Mother of the Gods with great Solemnity; and made a Vow to the Goddess, that if he return'd in Health and Safety to his own Country, he would sacrifice in the same Manner he found practis'd by the Cyziceniens, and introduce the nocturnal Ceremonies. Accordingly when he arriv'd in *Scythia*, he went privately into the Country of *Hylea*, situate near the *Race of Achilles*, and abounding in Trees of all kinds. There he fully perform'd all the Rites of the Goddess; holding  
a Tim-

a Timbal in his Hand before the Images he had hung in the Trees. But a certain Scythian observing what he was doing, discover'd the whole Matter to King *Saulius*; who coming to the Place, and seeing *Anacharsis* thus employ'd, drew his Bow and kill'd him on the Spot. Yet if any Man question the Scythians concerning *Anacharsis*, they presently say they know nothing of him; because he travell'd into *Greece*, and affected foreign Customs. Nevertheless I have been inform'd by *Timnes* the Guardian of *Spargapythes*, that *Anacharsis* was Uncle to *Indatbyrsus* King of *Scythia* Son to *Gnurus* and Grandson of *Lycus* the Son of *Spargapythes*: And if he was of that Family, he was kill'd by his own Cousin German: For *Indatbyrsus* was the Son of *Saulius*, and *Saulius* kill'd *Anacharsis*. But I had a different Account from the Peloponnesians; who said, that *Anacharsis* was sent abroad by the King of *Scythia*; that he became a Disciple of the Grecians; and at his Return told the King, that all the Grecians were employ'd in acquiring Knowledge, except the Lacedæmonians, who only studied how to give and receive with Prudence: But this is a Fiction contriv'd in *Greece*; and *Anacharsis* was indeed kill'd in the Manner I have mention'd; because he affected foreign Customs, and had convers'd with the Grecians. Many Years after this Event, *Scyles* the Son of *Aripithes* King of *Scythia*, met with the like Fate. *Aripithes* was the Father of many other Children: But he had *Scyles* by an Istrien, not a Scythian Woman. His Mother instructed him in the Grecian Language and Letters; and when, after some Time *Aripithes* was kill'd by the Fraud of

*Sparga-*

*Spargapythes* King of the Agathyrsians, *Scyles*, took Possession of the Kingdom, and married *Opæa* his Father's Wife, a Native of *Scythia*, and Mother of *Oricus*, another Son of *Aripithes*. But tho' *Scyles* was King of the Scythians, he dislik'd the Customs of *Scythia*; and much rather inclining to the Grecian Manners, in which he had been educated from his Infancy, he contriv'd this Invention. Leading the Scythian Army to the City of the Borysthenians, which they say is a Colony of the Milesians, and arriving before the Place, he left his Scythians without the Walls, and entering alone, caus'd the Gates to be immediately shut; put off his Scythian Garment; and having cloath'd himself in the Grecian Habit, walk'd in Publick without Guards, or other Attendants. And that no Scythian might see him dress'd in this Manner, he plac'd Sentinels at every Gate; conforming himself to the Grecian Customs in the Worship of the Gods, no less than in all other things, and after he had staid a Month or more in this Place, he resum'd the Scythian Habit, and departed. This Practice he frequently repeated; built a Palace in the City and married a Wife, who was a Native of the Place. But the fatal Decree was pass'd, and his ill Fortune fell upon him on this Occasion. He was very desirous to be initiated in the Rites of *Bacchus*; and when all things were prepar'd for the Ceremony of his Initiation, a great Prodigy happen'd. The outward Court of the magnificent Palace, which, I have said, he built in the Capital of the Borysthenians, was adorn'd quite round with Images of white Marble, representing Sphynxes and Griffins. In this Place the

Thunder



Thunder of *Jupiter* fell, and demolish'd them all. Yet *Scyles* still persisted in his Resolution, and accomplish'd his Initiation. Now because the Scythians reproach the Grecians with these Bacchanals; and say, that to imagine a God driving Men into the most violent Transports of Madness, is not agreeable to right Reason; a certain Borysthenian, whilst the Ceremonies of Initiation were perform'd, went out, and discover'd the thing to the Scythian Army in these Words. " You Scythians, said he, laugh  
 " at us, because we celebrate Bacchanals, and  
 " are possess'd by the God : But now the same  
 " Deity has taken Possession of your King.  
 " For he also celebrates the Rites of *Bacchus*,  
 " full of a divine Fury : And if you will not  
 " believe me, follow, and I will demonstrate  
 " the Fact ". The principal of the Scythians accompanied him accordingly; and being privately introduc'd by the Borysthenian into one of the Towers, they perceiv'd *Scyles* with the Chorus performing the Bacchanalian Rites. They saw these Things with great Grief, and going back to the Camp, acquainted all the Army with what they had seen. After some Time, when *Scyles* was return'd Home, the Scythians revolted from him, and elected his Brother *Oetamasades*, born of the Daughter of *Tyres*. Which *Scyles* hearing, and understanding the Reason of their Proceeding, he fled to *Thrace*. *Oetamasades* being inform'd of his Flight, march'd with an Army against *Thrace*, and arriving on the Banks of the *Ister*, found the Forces of the Thracians advancing to meet him. But as both sides were preparing for a Battle, *Sitalces* the Thracian sent a Herald to *Oetamasades* with  
 this

this Message; “ Why should we try the Fortune of War? Thou art the Son of my Sister, and hast my Brother with thee. Surrender my Brother to me, and I will deliver *Scyles* into thy Hands; and so neither of us shall run the Hazard of a Defeat.” For the Brother of *Sitalces* having formerly fled from him, was now in the Power of *Oëtamasades*; who accepting the Condition, surrendered his Uncle to *Sitalces*, and received his Brother *Scyles* in exchange. *Sitalces*, upon the Delivery of his Brother, decamp’d with his Army; and *Oëtamasades* took off the Head of *Scyles* the same Day. Thus the Scythians preserve their own Customs; and thus they punish those who introduce foreign Manners.

THE Discourses I heard concerning the Numbers of the Scythians were so various, that I could not obtain any certain Information on that Subject; some pretending they were exceedingly numerous, and others saying they were very deficient of People. I shall therefore only relate what I have seen. The District of *Exampæus*, which I lately mention’d when I spoke of the Spring that infects the Waters of the *Hypanis*, is situate between the *Borysthenes* and that River. In this Place lies a Bowl of Brass, six times bigger than that which was plac’d by *Pausanias*, the Son of *Cleombrotus*, at the Mouth of the *Euxin Sea*. They who have not been Eye-witnesses, may be here inform’d, that the Scythian Vessel is six Inches thick, and large enough to contain full six hundred Amphoras. The Inhabitants say it was wrought up out of the Points of Arrows, by the Order of their King *Ariantes*; who being desirous to

know the Number of the Scythians, commanded every one to bring him the Point of an Arrow on Pain of Death, by which Means so great a Number was brought together, that resolving to leave a Monument of the Thing, he caus'd the Bowl of Brass to be made, and dedicated in *Exampæus*. This I heard concerning the Numbers of the Scythians. Their Country has nothing wonderful except the Rivers, which are very many, and very great. But whatever may seem worthy of Observation, besides the Rivers, and Extent of the Plains, shall not be omitted. They shew the Print of the Foot of *Hercules*, upon a Stone lying by the River *Tyres*; shap'd like the Step of a Man, and full two Cubits in Length. But I must now return to the Subject I principally design'd.

WHILST *Darius* was making Preparations against the Scythians, sending Messengers to some Places, with Orders to raise Land-Forces, and commanding others to provide a Fleet, and to lay a Bridge over the Thracian *Bosphorus*; *Artabanus* the Son of *Hystaspes*, and Brother of *Darius*, endeavour'd by all possible Means to dissuade him from his intended Enterprize; representing the Poverty of *Scythia*, and giving him most useful Counsel; but finding he could not prevail, forbore to press him any farther. When all things were ready, and *Darius* was marching from *Susa* with his Forces, *Oeobazus*, a Persian, who had three Sons in his Army, came and desir'd him that one of the three might be left at Home. The King spoke kindly to him; told him the Favour he ask'd was small, and that he would leave him all his Sons: Which Answer *Oeobazus* receiv'd with great Joy; because he hop'd



hop'd his Sons would have their Dismission from the Army. But *Darius* commanded the Officers appointed for such Purposes, to put all the Sons of *Oeobazus* to Death, and in that Condition left them to their Father. Then marching with his Army from *Susa*, he advanc'd to *Chalcedon* upon the *Bosphorus*, where a Bridge was laid ready for his Passage; and going on board a Ship, sail'd to the *Cyanean Islands*, which, the Grecians say, were formerly unfix'd. There, sitting in the Temple, he took a View of the *Euxin Sea*: A Prospect truly beautiful. This Sea, of all others the most admirable, is eleven thousand one hundred Stades in Length; and, in the widest Part, three thousand two hundred in Breadth. The Mouth is four Stades over; and the Length of the Streights, which is call'd the *Bosphorus*, where the Bridge of Communication was laid, contains about a hundred and twenty Stades, and extends to the *Propontis*. The *Propontis* is five hundred Stades in Breadth, one thousand four hundred in Length, and flows into the *Hellepont*; which being seven Stades over in the narrowest Place, and extending to four hundred Stades in Length, falls into the wide *Ægean*: And this is the Measure of those Seas. A Ship commonly advances about seventy thousand Rod in a long Day, and about sixty thousand in the Night. So that a Voyage from the Mouth of the *Euxin Sea* to the River *Phasis*, which is the utmost Point, may be perform'd in nine Days and eight Nights, comprehending the Measure of a hundred and ten thousand and one hundred Rod, or eleven thousand and one hundred Stades. From the Coast of *Scythia* to *Themiscyra*, situate on the River *Thermodon*,  
C c 2 which

which is the broadest Part of the *Euxin Sea*, the Passage is made in three Days and two Nights; being three hundred and three thousand Rod, or three thousand and three hundred Stades over. These are the Dimensions of the *Euxin*, the *Bosphorus*, and the *Hellepont*, which are situate as I have related. The *Euxin* receives the Waters of a Lake call'd *Mæotis*, not much inferior, in Circumference, to that Sea, and usually nam'd the Mother of the *Euxin*. When *Darius* had survey'd the Situation of this Sea, he return'd to the Bridge, which was contriv'd by *Mandrocles*, a Samian Architect. He likewise view'd the *Bosphorus*, and erected two Columns of white Stone on the Shore, with an Inscription in the Assyrian Tongue on the one, and another in the Grecian Language on the other; mentioning the several Nations he had in his Army; which was compos'd of Men drawn out of every Country of his Empire, and amounted to the Number of seven hundred thousand Horse and Foot; besides six hundred Sail of Ships. In succeeding Times these Pillars were remov'd, by the *Byzantians*, into their City, and us'd in building an Altar to the *Orthosian Diana*; except one Stone, full of Assyrian Letters, which they left in a Temple dedicated to *Bacchus*, in *Byzantium*. The Place where *Darius* caus'd the Bridge to be laid over the *Bosphorus*, was, as I conjecture, in the middle of the way between *Byzantium* and the Temple which stands at the Mouth of that Sea. The King was so pleas'd with the Performance, that he rewarded the Samian Architect *Mandrocles*, with more than ten times the Value of the Work. And *Mandrocles* in  
Gratitude

Gratitude having Painted the Conjunction of the two Shores, with *Darius* sitting on a Throne, and his Army passing over the Bridge, dedicated the Picture in the Temple of *Juno*, under this Inscription,

*TO Juno sacred, by Mandrocles plac'd,  
This Piece describes the artful Bridge he lay'd  
Over the Thracian Bosphorus. He joyn'd  
The fertil Asia to Europa's Shore,  
Pleas'd the great King Darius, and acquir'd  
Fame to his Country, to himself a Crown.*

This Monument serv'd to preserve the Memory of the Person who contriv'd the Bridge. And *Darius*, after he had rewarded *Mandrocles*, order'd his Army to pass into *Europe*; commanding the Ionians to sail by the *Euxin Sea* to the\* *Ister*; there to wait his Arrival, and lay a Bridge over that River: For his naval Forces consisted of Ionians, *Æolians*, and *Hellesponts*. They pass'd accordingly by the *Cyaxean Islands*, shaping their Course directly to the *Ister*, and after they had sail'd up the River during two Days, arriving at that Neck where the Stream divides into several Branches, they form'd a Bridge. In the mean Time *Darius* had pass'd over the *Bosphorus*, and marching thro' *Thrace*, arriv'd at the Head of the River *Tearus*, and encamp'd there with his Army three Days. The Inhabitants of the Country say, this River is more excellent than any other for the Cure of various Distempers; and especially of Ulcers either in Men or Horses. The Springs of the *Tearus* are thirty eight; and

Cc 3

tho'

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\* The *Danube*.



tho' some of these are hot, and others cold; yet all descend from the same Rock. They are at an equal Distance from *Heræopolis* near *Perinthus*, and *Apollonia* on the *Euxin Sea*; two Days Journey from each. The *Tearus* runs into the *Contadesdus*; the *Contadesdus* into the *Agriane*; the *Agriane* into the *Hebrus*, and the *Hebrus* into the Sea by the City of *Ænus*. *Darius* incamping at this River, was so pleas'd, that he erected a Pillar with the following Inscription; THE SPRINGS OF THE *TEARUS* YIELD THE BEST AND MOST BEAUTIFUL WATER OF ALL RIVERS: *DARIUS* THE SON OF *HYSTASÆS*, KING OF THE PERSIANS AND OF ALL THE CONTINENT, THE BEST AND MOST EXCELLENT OF MEN, LEADING AN ARMY AGAINST THE SCYTHIANS, ARRIV'D HERE. When he had done this, he decamp'd, and advanc'd to another River call'd *Artiscus*; which passes thro' the Country of the *Odrysians*; where, at his Arrival he mark'd out a certain Ground, commanding every Man of the Army to bring a Stone thither as he should pass by the Place; and when they had executed his Order, he mov'd again, leaving vast Heaps of Stones behind him. But before he reach'd the *Ister*, he subdued the *Getes*, who think themselves immortal. For the *Thracians* of *Salmydessus*, together with the *Cyrmiens* and *Mypsæans*, who inhabit above the Cities of *Apollonia* and *Mesambria*, submitted to *Darius* without Resistance. But the *Getes* oppos'd him thro' Ignorance; and tho' they are the most valiant and honest of all the *Thracians*, were easily conquer'd, and reduc'd to Servitude. They pretend to Immortality in  
this

this Manner. They imagine that the Man who ceases to live, is not dead, but goes to *Zamolxis*, accounted by some among them to be the same with *Gebelizis*. Every fifth Year they elect a Person by Lot, and send him to *Zamolxis* with Orders to let him know what they want. This Messenger they dispatch thus. Certain Persons are appointed to hold three Javelins erected; whilst others taking the Man they are to send, by the Hands and Feet, throw him up into the Air; that he may fall down upon the Points. If he dyes in their Presence, they think the God propitious: If not, they load him with Reproaches, and affirming he is an ill Man send another, whom they furnish with Instructions while he is yet alive. These Thracians, in Time of Thunder and Lightning, let fly their Arrows against the Heavens, and threaten their God; whom they think the only Deity. But I am inform'd by the Grecians who inhabit about the *Hellefpont* and *Euxin* Seas, that this *Zamolxis* was a Man, and liv'd at *Samos* in the Service of *Pythagoras* the Son of *Mnejarcbus*: That having procur'd his Liberty, and acquir'd great Riches, he return'd to his own Country; and finding the Thracians ignorant and miserable, he, who had learnt the Roman Way of Living, and Manners more polite than those of *Thrace*, by conversing with Grecians, and with *Pythagoras*, a Sophist of no small Esteem in *Greece*, built a Hall for the Entertainment of the principal Persons of the Country, and taught them at their Feasts, that neither he, nor any of those present, or their Posterity, should ever dye; but go into a Place, where they should live eternally in all Manner

of Felicity. In the mean Time he contriv'd a subterraneous Habitation for himself, and having finish'd the Building, went down and continued there during three Years. The Thracians seeing him no more, regretted their Loss, and lamented him, as dead: But in the third Year he appear'd again, and by that Means persuaded them to believe the things he had said. Thus the Story is told: And for my own Part, I neither absolutely reject, nor intirely believe the Account of this Person and his subterraneous Habitation: But I am of Opinion that *Zamolxis* liv'd many Years before *Pythagoras*. Yet whether this *Zamolxis* was a Man, or a native *Dæmon* among the Getes, I shall not dispute. However, that People, observing such Customs as I mention'd before, follow'd the Army of *Darius*, after they were subdued.

THE King arriving with all his Land Forces at the *Ister*, pass'd over the River, and commanded the Ionians to break the Bridge, and joyn the Army with the Men they had on board. But as they were preparing to execute his Orders, *Coes* the Son of *Erxandrus*, and General of the Mitylenians, after he had ask'd *Darius* if he might be permitted to deliver his Opinion freely, spoke to him in these Terms; “ O King, said he, since  
 “ we are going to make War in a Country which  
 “ uses no Plow, nor has any inhabited Cities,  
 “ let the Bridge remain intire, under the Guard  
 “ of those who put it together: That, whether  
 “ we find the Scythians and succeed in our  
 “ Enterprize, or whether we find them not, we  
 “ may at least secure our Retreat. I am not  
 “ afraid the Scythians will defeat us in Battle;  
 “ yet



“ yet I fear we may suffer, by mistaking the  
“ Way, if the Enemy will not be found. Per-  
“ haps some may think I say this for my own  
“ sake; in order to continue here. But, O  
“ King, I sincerely propose what I judge most  
“ conducing to the Good of your Affairs: For  
“ I design to march with an Army, and not to  
“ remain in this Place.” *Darius pleas’d with*  
*his Advice, answer’d him thus;* “ Lesbian Friend,  
“ If I return Home in safety, fail not to  
“ come into my Presence; that I may reward  
“ the best of Counsels with the greatest Ac-  
“ knowledgement.” Then tying sixty Knots  
upon a String, and calling for the Ionian Com-  
manders, he said, “ Men of *Ionia*, I have al-  
“ ter’d the Resolution I had made concerning  
“ the Bridge: And therefore, take this String,  
“ and do as I direct. Every Day, after you see  
“ me beginning to march against the Scythians,  
“ untye one of these Knots: And if I return  
“ not within that Time, and the Days of my  
“ Absence exceed the Number of the Knots,  
“ you may depart with your Ships to your  
“ own Country. In the mean Time, be upon  
“ your Guard, and apply the utmost of your  
“ Care to preserve and secure the Bridge: Which  
“ will be the most acceptable thing you can do  
“ for me.” And after *Darius* had spoken these  
Words, he broke up with his Army, and be-  
gan his March.

THE Territories of *Thrace* lye extended along  
the Borders of *Scythia*, and descend to the Sea  
in the Form of a Bay. Above these Countries  
*Scythia* begins, and the *Ister* falls into the *Euxin*,  
with his Mouth turn’d towards the East. But  
I must now describe those Regions of *Scythia*,  
that

that begin at the *Ister*, and stretch down by the Sea Coast. That Part, which lies North and South of the *Ister*, is the ancient *Scythia*, and extends to the City of *Carcinitis*. And the mountainous Regions, which begin at that Place, and are situate along the *Euxin*, descending towards the Shore, belong to the People of *Taurus*, and reach to the rocky *Chersonesus*, that terminates in the Eastern Sea. Thus *Scythia* is divided into two Parts, both extending to the Sea; one towards the South and the other towards the East; not unlike the Region of *Attica*. For the Inhabitants of *Taurus* are so plac'd in *Scythia*; as any other People would be, who instead of the Athenians, should possess the Promontory of *Sunium*, which advances to the Sea between the Tribes of *Thorius* and *Anaphlystus*. Such is the Situation of *Taurus*; if I may be permitted to compare small things with great. But to those who have never sail'd by that Part of *Attica*, I shall explain my self farther: Suppose then, that a Nation distinct from the Japygians, should possess the Promontory of *Japygia*, from the Port of *Brundisium* to *Tarentum*, and by that Means cut off the Communication between the other Parts of the Country. Many other Instances of the same Nature might be given; but I need add no more to illustrate the Description of *Taurus*. The Scythians inhabit the Countries that lye beyond the Taurians, and those that extend to the Eastern Sea; together with the Regions situate to the Westward of the Cimmerian *Bosphorus* and the Lake *Mæotis*, to the River *Tanais*, which flows into that Lake. So that those Countries which beginning at the *Ister*, advance upwards to the  
midland

midland Parts, are border'd first by the Agathyrsians; then by the Neurians; next by the Androphages; and in the last place, by the Melanchlænians. Thus *Scythia* is of a quadrangular Form; and the two Parts that descend to the Sea, are equal to the other two that lye far within the Land. For from the *Ister* to the *Borysthenes*, is a Journey of ten Days; ten more from the *Borysthenes* to the Lake *Mæotis*; and twenty from the Sea by the midland Countries to the Melanchlænians, who inhabit above the Scythians. Now if we allow two hundred Stades for every Day's Journey, the Way that traverses *Scythia*, contains four thousand Stades in Length; and the direct Passage upwards by the midland Parts, the same Number. Such is the Extent of this Country.

THE Scythians, after they had conferr'd together, and found they were not able with their own Forces to resist the Army of *Darius* in the open Field, dispatch'd Messengers to the adjoining Nations; and when their Kings were assembled, they consulted how to act, under the Apprehensions of being invaded by so numerous an Army. This Assembly consisted of the Kings of *Taurus*; of the Agathyrsians; of the Neurians; of the Androphages; of the Melanchlænians; of the Gelones; of the Budians, and of the Sarmatians. Of these, the Taurians observe the following Customs. All those who suffer Shipwrack, and the Grecians they seize upon their Coast, they sacrifice to a Virgin in this Manner. After many Imprecations, they strike the Man on the Head with a Club, and, as some affirm, precipitate the Body from a Hill, on which their Temple



Temple is built ; reserving only the Head to be fix'd on a Pole ; whilst others, acknowledging this to be the Way they use in disposing of the Head, yet pretend they never throw the Body down from the Hill, but bury it under Ground. The Inhabitants of *Taurus* say, that the *Dæmon* they worship with these Sacrifices, is *Iphigenia* the Daughter of *Agamemnon*. Those who fall into their Hands in Time of War, are treated in another Manner. For every one cuts off the Head of an Enemy ; which he carries Home, and fixes to a long Pole erected on the Top of his House, and, for the most Part, over the Chimney : Which they say, is done in order to guard the House. This People live by War and Rapine. The Agathyrsians are a luxurious Nation, and usually wear Cloaths embroider'd with Gold. They have their Women in common, to the End they may be all Brethren ; by this Means 'conversing so familiarly together, that they never exercise any mutual Envy and Animosities. In other things they approach the Manners of the Thracians. The Neurians observe the Customs of *Scythia* ; and one Generation before the Expedition of *Darius*, were driven out of their Country by Serpents. For besides those that were bred in their own Territories, a much greater Number came down from the Desarts, and so infested them, that they were compelled to abandon their Habitations, and retire among the Budians. These Men attempt to be Magicians ; and the Scythians, with the Grecians who inhabit in *Scythia*, say, that all the Neurians once every Year are transform'd into Wolves for a few Days, and then resume their former

former Shape. But I am not persuaded to believe this, tho' they affirm their Assertion with Oaths. The Androphages live in a more savage Manner than any other Nation; having no publick Distribution of Justice, nor establish'd Laws. They apply themselves to the breeding of Cattel; cloath themselves like the Scythians, and speak a peculiar Language. The Melanchlænians wear no other Garments than Black, and had their Name from that Custom. These follow the Usages of *Scythia*; but are the only People of all those Countries, who feed upon humane Flesh. The Budians are a great and populous Nation, with Eyes very blue, and red Hair. They have a City call'd by the Name of *Gelonus*; built with Timber, and surrounded by a high Wall of the same Materials; each side of which is three hundred Stades in Length. The Buildings, as well sacred as private, are of Timber likewise: And they have Temples dedicated to the Gods of *Greece*, adorn'd after the Grecian Manner with Images, Altars, and Chapels of Wood. They celebrate the Triennial Festivals of *Bacchus*, and perform the Bacchanalian Ceremonies. For the Gelonians were originally Grecians; who transplanted themselves from the trading Ports of *Greece*, and settled among the Budians: Where they use a Language compos'd of the Scythian and Grecian Tongues. But the Budians differ from the Gelonians in Speech, and in their Manner of Living. For being Original Inhabitants of the Country, they apply themselves to the keeping of Cattel; and are the only People of these Parts who eat Lice: Whereas the Gelonians till the Land; feed upon Corn;  
cultivate

cultivate Gardens ; and are utterly unlike the Budians both in Mien and Complexion ; tho' the Grecians without ground call the Budians by the Name of the Gelonians. Their Country abounds in Trees of all Kinds ; and in that Part, where they grow in greatest Numbers, lies a deep and spacious Lake, surrounded by a Morass cover'd with Reeds. In this Place, Otters, Beavers, and other Animals of a square Visage, are frequently taken. Their Skins sew'd together serve for Garments, and their Testicles are useful in the Diseases of the Mother. Concerning the Sarmatians we have the following Account. When the Grecians had fought a Battle on the River *Thermodon* against the Amazons, who by the Scythians are call'd *Aiorpata*, or in our Language *Manlayers* ; *Aior* signifying a Man, and *Pata* to kill ; they departed after the Victory they had obtain'd, and in three of their Ships carried off all the Amazons they could take alive. Whilst they were out at Sea, these Amazons conspir'd against the Men, and kill'd all they found on Board. But having no Knowledge of Navigation, nor any Skill in the Use of the Rudder, Sails or Oars, they were driven by Wind and Tide, 'till they arriv'd at the Precipices of the Lake *Mæotis* in the Territories of the Free Scythians. Here the Amazons went ashore, and marching into the Country seiz'd and mounted the first Herd of Horses they found, and began to plunder the Inhabitants. The Scythians could not imagine the meaning of this Incursion ; and being utterly ignorant of their Language, Habit and Nation, wonder'd from whence they came. They first conjectur'd that they were Men, all of the same Age : But  
after



after they had skirmish'd with them, and taken some Prisoners, they soon perceiv'd they were Women. The Scythians therefore consulting together, resolv'd not to kill them; but to send out a Party consisting of a like Number of young Men, with Orders to post themselves near their Camp, and attend their Motions. If the Women should attack the Party, they were commanded to fly, without making Resistance; and when they should find themselves no longer pursued, then to return again, and encamp within the least Distance they could. This Resolution the Scythians took, out of a great Desire to have Children by these Women. The young Men observ'd their Instructions, and when the Amazons found they were not come with hostile Intentions, they suffer'd them to continue there without Molestation: And as they had nothing except their Arms and Horses, they liv'd in the same Manner by Hunting and Pillage. About Noon the Amazons usually separated themselves; and sometimes single, sometimes two together, went out to comply with the Necessities of Nature: Which when the Scythians perceiv'd, they did so likewise. And by this Means one of these walking alone, met with an Amazon: Who not offering to withdraw, and resolving to make use of the Occasion, tho' she could not speak to him in Words, because neither understood the Language of the other; yet she made him understand by certain Motions of her Hand, that if he would come the next Day to the same Place, accompany'd by another Scythian, she would bring one of her Companions with her. The young Man, after this Invitation, departed; and  
having

having related his Adventure to the rest, went the next Day with another Scythian to the Place of Affignation, and found the two Amazons expecting their Arrival. Upon Information of which Success, the rest of the young Men address'd themselves to the remaining Amazons; the two Camps were joyn'd, and every one kept for his Wife the Person he first convers'd with. But because the Men could not attain to speak the Amazonian Tongue, the Women learn'd the Language of *Scythia*; and when they found on both sides, that they liv'd in a perfect Agreement, the Scythians spoke to the Amazons in these Terms. " We have our Parents  
 " and Possessions; and being on that Account  
 " unwilling to continue longer in this Way of  
 " living, we would return and live among our  
 " Countrymen; always retaining you and no  
 " other Persons, for our Wives ". To this the Amazons answer'd; " We shall never indure  
 " to live with the Women of your Country;  
 " because we differ in Manners. For we have  
 " been accusom'd to draw a Bow; throw a  
 " Javelin; and mount a Horse; and were never  
 " instructed in the usual Employments of other  
 " Women. Whereas the Scythian Wives do  
 " none of the things we have mention'd: But  
 " are employ'd in Womanish Labours; sitting  
 " still in your Waggon; unaccusom'd to Hunt-  
 " ing or any other Exercise; and therefore  
 " we cannot comply with their Manner of  
 " Life. Nevertheless, if you are desirous to  
 " keep us for your Wives, and to act like  
 " honest Men, go to your Parents; and after you  
 " have receiv'd your Part of their Riches, return  
 " and we will live together. The young Men,

consenting to go as they desir'd, obtain'd every one his Portion; and at their Return, the Amazons propos'd another Expedient, in these Words: "Two things deter us from living  
 " in this Country: For we have depriv'd you  
 " of your Parents; and have committed great  
 " Depredations in these Parts. Therefore,  
 " since you have thought us worthy to be your  
 " Wives, let us unanimously agree to pass the  
 " *Tanais*, and fix our Habitations on the other  
 " Side of that River." The young Men consenting to this also, they pass'd the *Tanais*; and after a March of three Days from the River Eastward, and three more from the Lake *Mæotis* to the Northward, they arriv'd and settled in the Regions they now inhabit. Hence the Wives of the Sarmatians still continue their ancient Way of Living. They hunt on Horseback in the Company of their Husbands, and sometimes alone: They march with their Armies, and wear the same Dress with the Men. The Sarmatians use the Scythian Language; but corrupted from the Beginning; because the Amazons never learnt to speak correctly. Their Marriages are attended with this Circumstance: No Virgin is permitted to marry, 'till she has kill'd an Enemy in the Field; so that some always grow old before they can qualify themselves as the Law requires.

THE Messengers dispatch'd by the Scythians, inform'd the Kings of the Nations I have mention'd, in their Assembly, that the Persian, having subdued all the Countries on the other Continent, had joyn'd the two Shores by a Bridge, and pass'd over the Neck of the *Bosphorus* to this Side: Where he had already reduc'd the Thra-

D d

cians,



cians, and laid another Bridge upon the *Ister*, with design to conquer all those Regions in like Manner: “ And therefore, said they, you ought  
 “ not to sit still at Home, and look upon our  
 “ Destruction with Indifference; but joyning all  
 “ our Forces together, let us unanimously  
 “ march out, and meet the Invader. If you  
 “ refuse to take this Resolution, we shall be  
 “ compell’d either to abandon the Country, or  
 “ make our Composition; for to what End  
 “ should we suffer the last Extremities, if you  
 “ refuse to assist us? Besides you are in equal  
 “ Danger: The Persian is marching against you  
 “ no less than against us; and, that he will not  
 “ content himself to destroy our Country, and  
 “ leave you undisturb’d, his own Actions are  
 “ the clearest Demonstration: For if he had  
 “ undertaken this Expedition only against us,  
 “ in order to revenge former Injuries, he ought  
 “ to have march’d directly into our Territories,  
 “ without offering Violence to any other Na-  
 “ tion; and by that Means have convinc’d all,  
 “ that he had no other Enterprize in his Inten-  
 “ tions, than the Conquest of *Scythia*. Where-  
 “ as on the contrary, at his Arrival on this Con-  
 “ tinent, he receiv’d the Submissions of those  
 “ Places that lay in his Way; and reduc’d the  
 “ rest of *Thrace*, with our Neighbours the  
 “ *Getes*, to his Obedience.” When the *Scythi-*  
*ans* had finish’d these Words, the Kings who  
 were present on the Part of several Nations, de-  
 liberated touching their Proposal, and divided  
 in Opinion. Those of the *Gelonians*, *Budians*,  
 and *Sarmatians*, unanimously determin’d to assist  
 the *Scythians*: But the Kings of the *Agathyr-*  
*sians*, *Neurians*, *Androphages*, *Melanchlæmians*,  
 and

and Taurians, made this Answer to the Messengers. “ If you had not been the first Aggressors, and done the first Injury to the Persians; we should acknowledge the Equity of your present Demands; and readily yielding to your Desires, would concur with you in one common Cause. But as you invaded their Territories without our Participation, and kept your Acquisitions there, during all the Time God favour’d your Arms: So now, by the Instigation of the same God, they return you the same Measure: And therefore, having had no Part in that unjust Invasion, we will not now begin to injure the Persians. Yet if this Man should wrongfully attack us, and exercise Hostility in our Country, we would not endure the Affront. ’Till that Time we shall remain quiet at Home: Because we think the Persians are not come with hostile Intentions against us; but against those, who were the Authors of the first Injuries.

WHEN the Scythians had receiv’d an Account of this Negotiation, they determin’d to fight no Battle in the open Field, because so many Nations had refus’d to assist them: But to withdraw themselves gradually from the Frontiers; and filling up all the Wells and Springs in their Way, and destroying the Herbage, to divide their Forces into two Bodies. They resolv’d that the Sarmatians should advance to the Territories of King *Scopasis*; with Directions, if the Persian should turn his March that Way, to retire by the Lake *Mæotis* to the River *Tanais*, and upon his Retreat, to follow him and harass his Army. These Orders were to be observ’d,

in relation to that Part of the Kingdom. The two other Divisions; one of which being the greater, was under the Government of *Indathyrsus*, and the other commanded by *Taxacis*, were directed to act in Conjunction with the Gelonians and Budians; keeping a Day's March before the Persians, and tiring them with frequent Skirmishes: Then retreating again, pursuant to their Instructions, they were to endeavour, by all possible Means, to draw the Enemy into the Territories of those who had rejected their Alliance; that since they refus'd to take Part voluntarily in the War against the Persians, they might be compell'd against their Will to defend themselves: And if that Design should succeed, they might return to their own Country, and attempt whatever they should judge most necessary. When the Scythians had fix'd these Orders, they march'd by private Ways towards the Army of *Darius*, and commanded the best of their Horse to advance before the rest; having already sent away their Wives and Children in the Waggon's they use instead of Houses, with all their Cattle, except so many as they thought necessary for their Subsistence, ordering them to retire incessantly Northward. The Detachment of Scythian Horse finding the Persians advanc'd about three Days March from the *Ister*, encamp'd; and having destroy'd all the Product of the Ground, fled away. The Persians seeing this Cavalry appear, trac'd them by the Marks they left behind; and entering one of the Districts, pursued the Scythians; who fled Eastward to the River *Tanais*, which they pass'd; the Persians still following them thro' *Sarmatia*, into the Territories of the Budians. All the time the

Persians



Persians were marching thro' the Scythian and Sarmatian Region, they found nothing to ravage, because those Parts were utterly unimprov'd. But entering the Country of the Budians, and arriving at their City, which was built with Wood, and abandon'd by the Inhabitants, after they had carried all away, they set fire to the Place. Then pursuing their March, they travers'd the whole Region, and arriv'd in an uninhabited Desert, situate above the Budians, and not to be pass'd in less than seven Days. Beyond this Desert the Thyssagetes inhabit; and four great Rivers, known by the Names of the *Lycus*, *Oarus*, *Tanais*, and *Syr-gis*, rise within their Country; and passing thro' the Territories of the Mæotians, flow into the Lake *Mæotis*. *Darius* arriving at the Desert, ceas'd his Pursuit, and encamp'd with his Army on the River *Oarus*. During his Stay there, he built eight spacious Cities, equally distant, about sixty Stades from each other; the Ruins of which remain to this Day: And whilst he was employ'd in this Work, the Scythians marching about by the upper Regions, return'd into *Scythia*; and *Darius*, perceiving they were withdrawn, and appear'd no more, left his Cities unfinish'd, and turn'd his March to the Westward; supposing them to be all the Scythians, and that they had fled that Way. He advanc'd with his Army in great Diligence; and entering *Scythia*, fell in with two of the Scythian Divisions, and pursued them a whole Day without Intermision. The Scythians designedly flying towards those Nations that had refus'd to assist them, enter'd first into the Territories of the Melanchlæniens: And when they

and the Persians had equally contributed to put all things there into Confusion, they drew the Persians after them into the Country of the Androphages: Where, after they had committed the like Disorders, the Scythians led the Enemy among the Neurians; and having brought these also into the same Circumstances, withdrew again towards the Agathyrsians. But before they enter'd the Country, the Agathyrsians seeing all their Neighbours flying in Confusion before the Scythians, dispatch'd a Herald to forbid them to come within their Limits; and at the same Time to inform them, that, if they should attempt to force their Way, they must first fight with the Agathyrsians. This Message was no sooner sent, than the Agathyrsians march'd to the Borders, with a Resolution to defend their Territories against all Invaders. Whereas the Melanchlænians, Androphages, and Neurians, never thought of defending themselves against the Invasion of the Scythians and Persians; but forgetting their former Menaces, fled with the utmost Precipitation to the Northern Desarts. The Scythians, upon the Admonition of the Agathyrsians, did not attempt to enter their Country; but departing from *Neuria*, retreated before the Persians into their own Territories. And after they had continued to withdraw themselves in this Manner for a considerable Time, *Darius* sent a Horseman to *Indathyrsus* King of *Scythia*, with the following Message, “ Wretched Man, Why dost thou incessantly betake thy self to Flight, when thou may'st chuse one of these two things? If thou art persuaded thy Forces are able to encounter my Army in the Field; halt, and fight: If not, come,

“ come, and own me for thy Lord, by pre-  
 “ senting me with Earth and Water, in Testi-  
 “ mony of thy Submission.” To this Message  
 the Scythian King made Answer in these Words.  
 “ The Way I have taken is most suitable to the  
 “ State of my Affairs. I never fled from any  
 “ Man out of Fear ; neither have I declin’d to  
 “ give thee Battle from that Motive. For in  
 “ all this, I have done nothing new ; or dif-  
 “ ferent from our constant Custom, even in  
 “ Time of Peace. But I will not conceal the  
 “ Reasons that move us to this Conduct. We  
 “ have no Towns, nor cultivated Lands ; and  
 “ therefore being under no Apprehension of  
 “ Depredation and Ravage, we did not imme-  
 “ diately offer you Battle. Yet if you are so  
 “ desirous to constrain us to fight, we have  
 “ the Sepulchres of our Ancestors among us ;  
 “ which if you find, and attempt to violate,  
 “ you will soon be convinc’d whether we will  
 “ fight on that Account, or not. For we are  
 “ resolv’d not to come to a Battle without  
 “ good Reason. But to leave this Point ; I am  
 “ to tell you in the next Place, That I ac-  
 “ knowledge no other Lords, than *Jupiter* my  
 “ Progenitor, and *Vesta* Queen of the Scythi-  
 “ ans : That instead of presenting you with  
 “ Earth and Water, I shall send you such a  
 “ Present as you deserve ; and perhaps, you may  
 “ repent your Insolence, in assuming the Title  
 “ of my Master.” With this Answer the  
 Messenger departed, and at his Return inform’d  
*Darius* of all that had pass’d.

WHEN the Kings of *Scythia* had heard the  
 Name of Servitude, they were fill’d with In-  
 dignation, and order’d the Division of *Scopasis*,  
 which



which had been joyn'd by the Sarmatians, to advance, and confer with the Ionians, who guarded the Bridge they had laid over the *Ister*. And after their Departure the rest resolv'd to lead the Persians no longer about; but to attack them whenever they should go out to forage; which Design they put in Execution, and surpriz'd the Troops of *Darius* at those Times. In these Encounters the Scythian Horse always routed the Persians, and drove them to their Camp: Where finding they were succour'd by their Infantry, the Scythians were forc'd to retire out of fear of the Persian Foot. Besides, they frequently attack'd the Enemy in the Night, and alarm'd their Camp. But that, which was no less strange, than prejudicial to the Scythians in the Assaults they made; and very advantageous to the Persians; was the Cry of the Asses, and Form of the Mules. For *Scythia* produces neither of those Animals, as I have already observ'd; the Climate being utterly improper to that End by Reason of Cold. The braying of the Asses put the Scythian Horse into Confusion; and frequently, as they were advancing to fall upon the Persians, their Horses no sooner heard the Noise, than in a great Fright, and with erected Ears, they turn'd short about; having never before heard such a Voice, nor seen such a Shape: And this Accident was of some Importance in the War. But when the Scythians saw the Persians falling into great Difficulties, they contriv'd this Stratagem to detain them longer in *Scythia*, to the end they might be reduc'd to the utmost Straits, and the want of all things necessary: They remov'd to a greater Distance; leaving their

Cattle

Cattle to the Care of Shepherds ; and the Persians coming up, took the Booty, and pleas'd themselves with their good Fortune. This they repeated several times ; 'till at last the Scythian Kings understanding that the Necessities of *Darius* were become very pressing, sent a Herald to present him on their Part with a Bird, a Mouse, a Frog, and five Arrows. The Persians ask'd the Meaning of this Present ; but the Herald made Answer, That he had no other Orders, than to deliver the things, and return immediately ; yet should advise, that the Persians would consider, if they were Men of any Penetration, what such a Gift might signify. The Persians having heard this Answer consulted together, and *Darius* declar'd his Opinion to be, That the Scythians had by their Present made a Surrender of themselves, and given him Possession of the Land and Water: " For, said he, the  
" Mouse is bred in the Earth, and subsists by  
" the same Food as a Man: A Frog lives in  
" the Water ; a Bird may be compar'd to a  
" Horse ; and with their Arrows they seem to  
" deliver their whole Force into my Hands." This was the Opinion of *Darius*. But *Gobryas*, one of the seven who had depos'd the Mage, being of a different Sentiment, said the Present intimated, " That unless the Persians could as-  
" cend into the Air like a Bird ; or conceal  
" themselves in the Earth like Mice ; or plunge  
" into the Fens like Frogs ; they should inevi-  
" tably perish by those Arrows ; and never re-  
" turn Home : " To which Interpretation the rest of the Persians concurr'd. In the mean Time that Part of the Scythians, which had been appointed to guard the Lake *Mæotis*, and were then  
commanded

commanded to parly with the Ionians at the *Ister*, arriv'd in the Place where the Bridge was laid, and spoke to this Effect; “ Men  
 “ of *Ionia*, If you will hearken to us, we are  
 “ come to make you an Offer of your Liberty.  
 “ We have heard that *Darius* commanded you  
 “ to guard the Bridge sixty Days only, and  
 “ then return into your own Country, unless  
 “ he should arrive before the Expiration of  
 “ that Time. Now therefore, since you have  
 “ continued here 'till all those Days are e-  
 “ laps'd, put his Orders in Execution, and  
 “ make no Difficulty to depart: By which  
 “ Means you will avoid to give any just Oc-  
 “ casion of Offence either to *Darius* or to us.”  
 The Ionians promis'd to do as they desir'd, and  
 the Scythians return'd to their Station with all  
 Expedition.

THE rest of the Scythians, after they had sent  
 the Present I have mention'd, to *Darius*, advanc'd  
 towards the Persians with all their Forces both  
 of Horse and Foot, as if they intended to fight;  
 and as they stood in Order of Battle, a Hare  
 started in the Interval between the two Armies.  
 The Scythians immediately quitting their Ranks,  
 pursued the Hare with loud Outcries; and when  
*Darius* saw the Confusion of the Enemy, and  
 understood that they follow'd a Hare, he said  
 to those he trusted with all things; “ These  
 “ Men treat us with great Contempt; and I am  
 “ convinc'd that *Gobryas* judg'd rightly concern-  
 “ ing the Present of the Scythians. Therefore  
 “ being now of the same Opinion, I think we  
 “ stand in need of the best Advice, to secure our  
 “ Return into our own Country.” To this, *Go-*  
*bryas* answer'd; “ Fame had made me in some  
 “ Measure



“ Measure acquainted with the Indigence of  
“ these Men ; But I have learn’d much more  
“ since I came hither, and observ’d in what Man-  
“ ner they deride us. My Opinion therefore is,  
“ that immediately upon the Close of the Day,  
“ we should light Fires according to Custom,  
“ and leaving the worst of our Forces in the  
“ Camp to deceive the Enemy, with all the  
“ Asses tied up in a usual Manner, decamp  
“ and march away, before the Scythians go  
“ and break the Bridge on the *Ister*, or the Io-  
“ nians contrive Mischief against us, as they ea-  
“ sily may ”. This was the Advice of *Gobryas*;  
and when Night came, *Darius* put his Counsel  
in Execution ; leaving all the sick behind in his  
Camp, with those whose Loss would least af-  
fect him, and, the Asses rang’d in order. He  
left the Asses, that they might make a conti-  
nual Noise ; and the Men, under Colour of at-  
tacking the Enemy with the sound Part of the  
Army, whilst they should remain for the Se-  
curity of the Camp. Thus *Darius* imposing up-  
on those he was preparing to abandon, and hav-  
ing caus’d the usual Fires to be kindled, march-  
ed away in great Haste towards the *Ister*. The  
Asses being left alone, began to bray much louder  
than before ; so that the Scythians hearing  
the Noise, firmly believ’d the Persians were still  
in their Camp. But upon the Appearance of  
Day, the Men that were abandon’d, finding  
themselves betray’d by *Darius*, extended their  
Hands, and acquainted the Scythians with the  
State of Affairs: Who presently drawing toge-  
ther the two Scythian Divisions ; and joyning  
the other Part, which had been reinforc’d by  
the Budians and Gelonians ; follow’d the Persians  
towards

towards the *Ister*, But because the Persians had great Numbers of Foot in their Army, and were altogether ignorant of the Ways; whereas the Scythians were all Horse, and perfectly well acquainted with the various Turnings of the Country, the two Armies miss'd each other, By which Means the Scythians arriving at the Bridge much before the Persians, and being inform'd the Enemy was not yet return'd, they spoke to the Ionians, who were on board the Ships, in these Terms: " Since the Number of  
 " Days appointed for your Stay, O Ionians, is  
 " already pass'd, you have not done as you ought,  
 " in continuing here: And therefore if Fear  
 " has hitherto been the Cause of your Delay;  
 " now, take the Bridge in pieces; depart in  
 " full Possession of your Liberty, and give  
 " Thanks to the Gods and to the Scythians.  
 " As for the Man who to this Time has been  
 " your Master, we will take Care to bring him  
 " into such Order, that he shall be no longer in  
 " a Condition to make War against any Part of  
 " Mankind". The Ionians met without Delay to consult about the Measures they should take in this Conjunction; and *Miltiades* General of the Athenians, and Tyrant of the Hellespontin Chersonesians, advis'd the Assembly to comply with the Demand of the Scythians, and to restore the Liberty of *Ionia*. But *Hesieus* the Milesian, being of a contrary Opinion, represented, that, whereas every one there present was Tyrant of his own Country by the Power of *Darius*; if that should be once abolish'd, he himself could no longer continue Master of *Miletus*, nor any of the rest in the Places they then possess'd; because the People would undoubtedly

undoubtedly chuse to live under a popular Government, rather than under the Dominion of a single Person. *Hestæus* had no sooner deliver'd this Opinion, than they all went over to his side, tho' they had before assented to the Counsel of *Miltiades*. The Names of those who differ'd from the Opinion of *Miltiades*, and had some Part in the Esteem of *Darius*, were, *Daphnis* Tyrant of *Abydus*; *Hippocles* of *Lampsacus*; *Erophantus* of *Parium*; *Metrodorus* of *Proconnesus*; *Aristagoras* of *Cyzicus*, and *Ariston* of *Byzantium*: All these were Hellespontin Tyrants. Those of *Ionia* were, *Stratias* of *Chio*; *Æacides* of *Samos*; *Laodamas* of *Phocæa*; and *Hestæus* of *Miletus*, whose Opinion was preferr'd before that of *Miltiades*. On the Part of the *Æolians* no other Person of Consideration was present, except only *Aristagoras* of *Cyma*. When these Men had approv'd the Sentiment of *Hestæus*, they concerted in what Manner they should act and speak. Accordingly they resolv'd to take away so much of the Bridge on the Scythian side, as an Arrow might reach; that they might not only seem to do something, when in Effect they did nothing; but that they might prevent the Scythians from attempting by Force to pass the *Ister* over their Bridge: And whilst they should be employ'd in removing that Part, which was on the Scythian side, they agreed to profess their Readiness to do any thing that might be acceptable to the Scythians. When they had determin'd to make this Addition to the Opinion of *Hestæus*, and cholen him out of all the Assembly to acquaint the Scythians with their Answer, he spoke to this Effect; "Men of *Scythia*,  
" You have given us good Advice, and season-  
ably



“ ably press’d us to put it in Execution : You  
 “ have pointed out the right Way, and we are  
 “ prepar’d to follow your Directions. We have  
 “ already cut off the Passage as you see, and  
 “ will finish the Work with all Diligence; be-  
 “ cause we resolve to be Free. In the mean  
 “ time your Part is, to find out the Persians,  
 “ and take full Revenge for the Injuries they  
 “ have done both to you and to us”. The  
 Scythians believing a second Time that the Io-  
 nians were sincere, march’d back to seek the  
 Persians; but intirely mis’d the Ways they had  
 taken. Of this Errour the Scythians themselves  
 were the Cause, by destroying the Pasture for  
 the Horse, and choaking the Springs; which  
 if they had not done, they might without dif-  
 ficulty have found the Persians. But now, that  
 which they thought they had contriv’d to their  
 great advantage, prov’d the very thing that  
 mis’d them. For they sought the Enemy in  
 those parts of the Country, where Forage and  
 Water were to be found; imagining they would  
 return by that Way. But the Persians without  
 Deflexion, repeating the March they had made  
 before, trac’d their Way to the River under  
 great Difficulties. They arriv’d in the Night,  
 and not finding the Bridge, fell into the utmost  
 Consternation, supposing they were abandon’d  
 by the Ionians. *Darius* had about his Per-  
 son an *Ægyptian*, surpassing all other Men in  
 the Strength of his Voice. This Man he com-  
 manded to stand on the Bank of the *Ister*, and  
 call *Hestiæus* the Milesian. Which when he had  
 done, *Hestiæus*, who hear’d him at the first  
 Cry, brought all the Vessels together, and joyn’d  
 the Bridge immediately, that the Army might  
 pass.

pass. Thus the Persians escap'd, and the Scythians were a second time disappointed. On this Account they say, that if the Ionians are consider'd as a free People, they are the worst and basest of Men: If as Slaves, they indeed love their Master, and are not inclin'd to abandon his Service. These Reproaches the Scythians fling out against the Ionians.

*DARIUS* march'd by the Way of *Thrace* to *Sestus* in the *Chersonesus*; and imbarcking there pass'd over into *Asia*, after he had constituted *Megabyzus*, a Persian, to be his General in *Europe*. He had already in *Persia* express'd his high Esteem of this Man. For being one Day about to eat some Pomgranates, he had no sooner open'd the first, than his Brother *Artabanus* ask'd him, Of what thing he would wish to possess a Number equal to the Grains of that Fruit; and receiv'd for Answer, That he would rather chuse so many Men perfectly resembling *Megabyzus*, than the intire Conquest of *Greece*. Thus he honour'd this Persian at Home; and now left him the Command of an Army consisting of eighty thousand Men. *Megabyzus* render'd his own Name immortal among the *Hellespontins*, by the following Expression. Being inform'd, when he was at *Byzantium*, that the *Chalcedonians* had inhabited in that Country seventeen Years before the Arrival of the *Byzantians*; “ Sure, said he, the Chalcedonians were blind in those Times: For if they could have seen, they would never have chosen so foul a Situation, when they might have built their City in so beautiful a Place. In Conclusion *Megabyzus* being left in these Parts to command the Army of *Darius*, sub-

dued

dued those Nations who were not in the Interest of the Medes.

ABOUT the same Time another Army undertook an Expedition into *Læbya*; the Causes of which I shall relate, and explain some things by way of Introduction. The Descendants of the Argonauts being expell'd *Lemnos* by those Pelasgians who seiz'd the Athenian Women at *Brauron*, set sail for *Lacedæmon*, and arriving at *Taygetus*, lighted Fires; which the Lacedæmonians seeing, dispatch'd a Messenger to demand who they were, and whence they came. Their Answer was, that they were Minyans, Grandsons of those Heroes who sail'd in the *Argos*, and arriving in *Lemnos* begot their Fathers. When the Lacedæmonians heard they were of Minyan Extraction, they sent another Messenger to enquire with what Design they had landed and lighted Fires in their Territories. They said, that being ejected by the Pelasgians, they might justly return to the Country of their Ancestors: And therefore desir'd to inhabit in *Laconia*, and to participate of their Honours and Lands. The Lacedæmonians receiv'd the Minyans on such Terms as they desir'd, for divers Reasons; and especially because *Castor* and *Pollux* the Sons of *Tyndarus* had been present in the Expedition of the *Argos*. They allotted to every Man a certain Portion of Land, and distributed the whole Number among their Tribes. On the other Part, the Minyans gave the Wives they brought from *Lemnos* to other Men, and took Spartan Women in their Place. But not long after growing insolent, they committed many Crimes, and form'd a Design to usurp the Kingdom. Upon which, the



the Lacedæmonians having determin'd to punish them with Death, seiz'd and imprison'd all the Minyans. But because, by the Customs of the Country, all condemn'd Persons are executed in the Night, and not by Day; the Wives of the Minyans, who were Daughters to the principal Persons of *Sparta*, ask'd Leave to speak with their Husbands in the Prison before the Execution. The Lacedæmonians not suspecting Fraud, granted their Request; and the Women being admitted accordingly, gave their own Garments to their Husbands, and cloath'd themselves with those of the Men. Upon which the Minyans dress'd like Women went out of the Prison, and fled in that Disguise to *Taygetus*. At the same Time *Theras* the Son of *Autesion*, and Grandson to *Tisamenes*, whose Father *Thersander* was the Son of *Polynices*, went out with a Colony from *Lacedæmon*. He was of the Cadmæan Race: Uncle, by the Mother's Side, to *Eurysthenes* and *Procles*, Sons of *Aristodemus*, and Regent of the Kingdom during their Minority. But after they came to be of Age, and had taken the Administration of Affairs into their Hands, *Theras*, who had tasted the Pleasure of commanding, impatient to see himself reduc'd to obey, declar'd his Resolution to depart from *Sparta*, in order to settle with those of his own Blood. The Island now call'd *Thera*, and formerly known by the Name of *Callista*, was then possess'd by the Posterity of *Membliares* the Son of *Pæciles* a Phœnician. For *Cadmus*, the Son of *Agenor*, arriving there, in the Search he made after *Europa*; either pleas'd with the Beauty of the Country, or mov'd by other Reasons, left his Kinsman

*Membliares* with some Phœnicians in that Island : And *Callista* had been in the Possession of these Phœnicians eight Generations before the Departure of *Theras* from *Lacedæmon*. To this Place *Theras* went, accompanied by many Persons drawn out of the Spartan Tribes; not with Design to expel the Inhabitants, but to live among them, and contribute to render the Island more populous. And because the Lacedæmonians still persisted in their Resolution to destroy the Minyans, even after they had fled from the Prison to *Taygetus*, he interceded for their Lives, and promis'd he would transport them out of that Country. Upon this Assurance the Lacedæmonians condescended to his Desires, and *Theras* departed with his Company for *Callista*, in three Gallies of thirty Oars each; carrying some of the Minyans with him, but not many. For the greater Part had already enter'd into the Countries of the Paroreates and Caucones; where, after they had driven out the Inhabitants, they distributed themselves into six Divisions, and founded the Cities of *Leprium*, *Macistus*, *Thrixas*, *Pyrgus*, *Epium*, and *Nadium*; most of which have been destroy'd in our Time by the Eleans. *Theras* chang'd the Name of the Island *Callista*, into that of *Thera*; and to his Son, who had refus'd to accompany him in his Voyage, he said at his Departure, that he would leave him as a Sheep among Wolves: From which saying the young Man was ever after call'd *Oilycus*. This *Oilycus* was the Father of *Ægeus*, from whom the *Ægides*, a principal Tribe in *Sparta*, derive their Name. The Men of this Tribe finding they had not the Fortune to bring up their Children, built a Temple by the Admonition

nition of the Erinnyan Oracle, dedicated to *Laius* and *Oedipus* ; and possess'd afterwards by those Theræans, who were descended from these Men. Thus far the Lacedæmonians and the Theræans agree : But of that Part which remains, the Theræans only are the Relaters. *Gri-nus*, say they, the Son of *Æsanius*, one of the Descendents of *Theras*, and King of the Island *Thera*, went to *Delphi* in order to sacrifice a Hecatomb. He was attended by divers Citizens of the Place, and among them by *Battus* Son to *Polymnestus*, of the Minyan Family of *Euphemus* : And whilst he consulted the Oracle concerning other Affairs, the Pythian admonish'd him to build a City in *Libya*. But he answer'd, " I am  
 " old, and unfit for such an Enterprize : There-  
 " fore rather command one of these young Men  
 " to execute that Order ;" and as he said these Words, he pointed to *Battus*. At their return they slighted the Oracle, because they had no Knowledge of the Situation of *Libya* ; nor durst adventure to send a Colony upon so obscure an Attempt. During seven Years from this Time, they had no Rain in *Thera* ; and after all the Trees of the Island, except one, had perish'd for want of Moisture, the Theræans applied themselves again to the Oracle : But the Pythian made no other Answer, Than that they should send a Colony to *Libya*. Thus seeing no End of their Calamity, they dispatch'd certain Persons to *Crete*, with Orders to inquire, if any of the Cretans or other Inhabitants of that Island had ever been in *Libya*. These Messengers travelling from Place to Place, arriv'd in the City of *Itanus* ; where having met with one *Corobius* a Dyer in Purple, who assur'd them he had been driven by



the Winds to an Island of *Libya* call'd *Platea*, they persuaded him by the Promise of a large Recompence to go with them to *Thera*. At first the *Theræans* sent only a small Number of Men, under the Conduct of *Corobius*, to the Island *Platea*: And they soon departed again, to give an Account of the Place to the *Theræans*: Leaving *Corobius* behind with Provisions for about two Months. But these Men not returning within the Time appointed, *Corobius* was reduc'd to the last Necessity; when a Ship of *Samos* bound Homewards from *Ægypt*, under the Pilotage of *Colæus*, arriv'd in the Harbour; being driven thither by Strefs of Weather: And after the Samians had been inform'd by *Corobius* of all things relating to this Expedition, they left him Subsistence for a Year, and set sail from the Island, wishing to recover the Coast of *Ægypt*; but on a sudden were surpriz'd by a strong Levant Wind; which never ceas'd, 'till they had pass'd the Columns of *Hercules*, and arriv'd at *Tartessus*, push'd on by a most fortunate Compulsion. For as that Port had never been attempted before, the Profits they made of their Merchandize were so considerable, that at their Return they brought Home a greater Treasure than any of the Grecians we know had ever done, since the Time of *Sostratus* the Son of *Laodamas* of *Ægina*, who is above all Comparison. These Samians with the tenth Part of their Gain, amounting to six Talents, made a Basen of Brass, resembling that of *Argolis*, and surrounded with the Heads of Griffins leaning to each other. This they plac'd in the Temple of *Juno*, supported by three Colosso's of Brass in a kneeling Posture, and seven Foot in Height.

And on this Occasion, the Cyrenæans and Theræans contracted a great Friendship with the Samians.

WHEN those Theræans, who left *Corobius* in *Platea*, were return'd Home, with an Account, that they had taken Possession of an Island in *Libya*, the Theræans resolv'd to send a Colony thither, compos'd of Men drawn out of all their Districts, which were seven in Number; and that every Brother should cast Lots with his Brother to determine who should go; appointing *Battus* to be their King and Leader, and commanding two Gallies of fifty Oars to be made ready for their Transportation. These things are reported by the Theræans only: For what remains, we have the concurring Testimony of the Cyrenæans; tho' they differ from the Theræans in the Account of *Battus*, and relate the Matter thus. *Etearchus*, say they, King of *Oaxus* a City of *Crete*, after the Death of his first Wife, married another Woman; who resolving to be effectually a Stepmother to his Daughter, whose Name was *Phronima*, treated her in the most injurious Manner; and besides an infinite Number of other wicked Contrivances, accus'd her at last of Unchastity; and prevail'd with her Husband to believe the Calumny. *Etearchus* persuaded by his Wife, form'd a wicked Design against his Daughter, and sending for one *Themison* a Merchant of *Thera*, who, he knew, was then at *Oaxus*, receiv'd him kindly, and compell'd him to take an Oath to serve him in any thing he should desire. When he had done this, he deliver'd his Daughter to the Merchant, and commanded him to

drown her in the Sea during his Voyage. *Themison* disturb'd that he had been induc'd to swear rashly, and yet unwilling to break their mutual Hospitality, resolv'd to act in this Manner. He receiv'd the King's Daughter, and set sail. But after he was out at Sea, that he might comply with the Obligation of his Oath, he let her down into the Water with Cords tied about her; and after he had drawn her up again, pursued his Voyage to *Thera*. *Polymnestus*, an eminent Man in that Island, took *Phronima* for his Concubine, and after some Time had a Son by her, who from his shrill and stammering Voice was nam'd *Battus*, as the *Theræans* and *Cyrenæans* say: But I am of Opinion he had another Name; and receiv'd that of *Battus* after his Arrival in *Libya*, pursuant to the Answer of the Delphian Oracle, and on Account of the Honour conferr'd upon him. For the *Libyans* call a King *Battus*; and therefore I conjecture that the *Pythian* Prophets foreseeing he should be a King in *Libya*, gave him that Title in the *Libyan* Language; having return'd this Answer, when, being grown a Man, he came to consult the Oracle concerning his Speech,

BATTUS ! *about thy Voice inquire no more ;  
Apollo sends thee to the Libyan Shore  
In Wooll abounding.*

As if she had said in the Language of *Greece*, O King, *about thy Voice*. *Battus* answer'd, " I came  
" to consult the Oracle about my Voice, and the  
" God requires things impossible; commanding  
" me to go *Libya*. I desire to know, with  
" what



“ what Power, and with what Numbers ” ? But when nothing could persuade the Pythian to give any other Answer, and *Battus* found she repeated the same Words again, he left the Oracle, and return’d to *Thera*. From that Time both he and the *Theræans* felt the Revenge of the Pythian : And the People not knowing whence their Misfortunes came, sent again to *Delphi* to enquire concerning the Cause, and receiv’d for Answer ; “ That their Affairs should “ prosper better, if, under the Conduct of *Battus*, they would build a City in *Libya*, by the “ Name of *Cyrene* ”. Upon this Admonition the *Theræans* made ready two Gallies of fifty Oars each, and *Battus* with his Company imbarcking, set sail for *Libya* : But not being able to perform their Voyage, they return’d Home : Where the *Theræans* having refus’d to receive them, or suffer the Men to land, commanded them to resume the Expedition. Thus compell’d by Necessity they sail’d again, and settled in an Island of *Libya* ; call’d, as I said before, *Platæa*, and reported to be of equal Extent with the Territories now possess’d by the *Cyrenæans*. After they had been two Years in this Place, and found their Condition no way amended ; leaving one of their Company behind, the rest sail’d to *Delphi* ; and having remonstrated to the Oracle, that tho’ they had settled in *Libya*, yet the State of their Affairs still continued the same, they had the following Answer from the Pythian ;

(Coast

*Strange ! You should know wooll-bearing Libya’s  
Better than I : You, who were never there.*

Ec +

When

When *Battus* and his Companions heard this, and found they must return to *Libya*, because the God would by no Means permit them to abandon their Enterprize, they departed, and arriving again in the Island of *Platæa*, took on board the Man they had left there, and went to inhabit a Country of *Libya*, situate over against an Island call'd *Aziristus* surrounded with agreeable Hills, and water'd by two Rivers running on each side. Six Years they continued in this Region, and in the seventh resolv'd to leave it, by the Persuasion of the Libyans, who said they wou'd shew them a better Place. In effect, the Libyans conducted them Westward into the most beautiful Country imaginable ; and having computed the Hours of the Day, brought the Grecians thither by Night, that they might not observe the Way. The Region is call'd by the Name of *Irasa* : And when the Libyans had shew'd them a Fountain, accounted sacred to *Apollo* ; “ Grecians, said they, “ Here you may inhabit most conveniently ; “ and the Heavens seem to invite you ”. Accordingly the Cyrenæans fix'd their Habitations in this Place, and continued to be about the same Number as at their Arrival, during all the Time of *Battus*, who reign'd forty Years, and that of his Son *Arcesilaus*, who reign'd sixteen. But under the Reign of another *Battus*, their third King, firnam'd the *Happy*, the Pythian encourag'd all Grecians to undertake the Voyage of *Libya*, and joyn with the Cyrenæans, who invited them to an equal Division of the Country. The Words of the Oracle were these,

*REGRET*

*REGRET attends the Man, who comes too late,  
To share the lovely Libya's fertil Plains.*

By these Means a great Multitude met together at *Cyrene* ; and after they had divided a vast Extent of Land among themselves, the Libyans with their King, whose Name was *Adicrau*, finding they were depriv'd of their Possessions, and injuriously treated, sent an Embassy to *Ægypt* with a Tender of their Submission to *Apries* King of that Country ; who assembling a numerous Army of *Ægyptians*, sent them to attack *Cyrene*. But the *Cyrenæans* having drawn out their Forces to the Fountain *Thestis* in *Irasa*, fought and defeated the *Ægyptians*, who to that time had been unacquainted with the Grecian Valour, and therefore despis'd their Power. The Victory was so great, that few of the *Ægyptians* return'd Home : And the ill Success of this Expedition caus'd such Discontent amongst that People, that they revolted against *Apries*.

*ARCESILAUS* the Son of *Battus*, succeeded him : And in the Beginning of his Reign had so many Contests with his Brothers, that they left the Kingdom ; and arriving in another Part of *Libya*, founded the City of *Barca*, which bears the same Name to this Day ; and whilst they were settling their new Colony, persuaded the Libyans to revolt . But *Arcesilaus* led an Army, not only against the revolted Libyans, but also against those who had given Reception to his Brothers ; which put them into such a Consternation, that they fled to the Eastern Parts of *Libya*. *Arcesilaus* pursued them 'till he arriv'd at *Leucon* :



*Leucon*: And there the Libyans having resolv'd to attack him, fought the Cyrenæans successfully, and kill'd seven thousand Men upon the Spot. After this Disaster *Arcesilaus* fell sick, and taking a Medicinal Draught, was strangled by his Brother *Aliarchus*. But his Wife, whose Name was *Eryxo*, reveng'd his Death, and kill'd *Aliarchus* by an Artifice of her own Contrivance. *Battus* the Son of this *Arcesilaus*; a lame Man, and unable to walk, succeeding him in the Kingdom, the Cyrenæans, who had receiv'd so great a Blow, sent to enquire of the Delphian Oracle, under what Form of Government they might live most happily; and the Pythian in Answer commanded them to send for a Legislator from *Mantineia* a City of *Arcadia*. The Cyrenæans did as they were instructed, and the Mantineans chose a Man for that purpose, highly esteem'd in their Country, and known by the Name of *Demonax*. This Person arriv'd in *Cyrene*; and after he had fully inform'd himself of their Affairs, divided the People into three Tribes. The first consisted of the *Theræans* and their Neighbours; the second of *Peloponnesians* and *Cretans*; and a third contain'd all the rest of the Islanders. He took away the Temples and sacred Offices of *Battus*; together with all other things, which had been peculiar to their Kings, and put them into the Hands of the People. These Regulations were exactly observ'd during the Reign of *Battus*: But in the Time of his Son *Arcesilaus* great Disorders arose about those Honours. For *Arcesilaus* the Son of the lame *Battus* and *Pheretima*, declaring he would not submit to the Constitutions of *Demonax*, challeng'd all the Prerogatives his Ancestors had

had enjoy'd ; and having rais'd a Tumult on that Occasion, he was defeated, and fled to *Samos*. His Mother escap'd to *Salamis* a City of *Cyprus*, then in the Possession of that *Euelthon*, who dedicated the curious Thurible at *Delphi*, which is deposited in the Treasury of the Corinthians. *Pheretima* after her Arrival, desir'd *Euelthon* to assist her with an Army in order to reestablish her Family in *Cyrene*: But he chose rather to present her with all other things, than to grant her the Forces she demanded. Yet she accepted his Presents ; and admiring their Beauty, always added, that tho' these were very valuable, an Army would be far more acceptable to her. In the end *Euelthon* gave her a golden Reel, and a Distaff of the same Metal, cover'd with Wooll ; and finding she repeated her Acknowledgment in the same Terms, he told her, these were the most proper Presents for Women, and not Armies.

IN the mean Time *Arcefilaus* continued at *Samos*, soliciting all Men to joyn with him by Promises of an Agrarian Division ; and having by that Means collected a numerous Army, he sail'd to *Delphi*, in order to consult the Oracle concerning his Rettoration, and had the following Answer from the Pythian. “ *Apollo* grants you the  
“ Dominion of *Cyrene* during eight Descents,  
“ down to the fourth *Battus*, and the fourth *Ar-*  
“ *cesilaus* ; and exhorts you to aim at no more.  
“ Be contented therefore to live peaceably at  
“ Home : And if you find a Furnace full of  
“ Pitchers, throw them out unburnt : But if you  
“ set fire to the Kiln, forbear to enter into a  
“ Place bounded with Water on each side. Un-  
“ less you observe this, you shall certainly  
“ perish

“ perish with the beautiful Bull ”. *Arcefilaus* having receiv’d the Answer of the Pythian, took with him the Forces he had collected in *Samos*; and returning to *Cyrene*, recover’d the Possession of his Kingdom. But forgetting the Counsel of the Oracle, he brought those who had ejected him to a Tryal, and charg’d them with the Guilt of his Expulsion: So that many were compell’d to abandon their Country; whilst others falling into his Hands, were sent to be executed in *Cyprus*. But these arriving in the Port of *Cnidus*, were rescued by the People, and sent away safe to *Ithera*. In the mean Time *Arcefilaus* being inform’d that another Party had retir’d to a Tower belonging to *Agломachus*, he surrounded the Place with Wood, and consum’d all those who were within. Which he had no sooner done, than he understood the Meaning of the Oracle’s Command, *Not to burn the Vessels he should find in the Kiln*; and in that Persuasion voluntarily departed from *Cyrene*, under violent Apprehensions of his own Death, predicted by the Pythian; who, as he thought, could mean no other Place, because *Cyrene* is situate between two Rivers. He had a Wife related to him in Blood; and because she was Daughter to *A-lazar* King of the Barcæans, he retir’d to *Barca*: Where some of the Inhabitants, in Conjunction with others of the exil’d Cyrenæans, being one Day inform’d that he was walking in the Publick Place, kill’d both him and his Father-in-law. Thus *Arcefilaus* disobeying the Oracle, whether willfully or otherwise, accomplish’d his own Destiny. His Mother *Pheretima*, whilst he was hastening to Destruction in *Barca*, continued at *Cyrene*, and enjoy’d all the Honours



Honours he had possess'd; exercising the same Functions, and presiding in the Council: But when she heard the Manner of his Death, she fled to *Ægypt*; because her Son *Arcesilaus* had deserv'd well of *Cambyfes* the Son of *Cyrus*, by putting *Cyrene* into his Protection, and settling a Tribute to be paid for an Acknowledgment of their Submission. Arriving in *Ægypt*, and applying herself to *Aryandes* in the Form of a Suppliant, she besought him to revenge the Death of her Son, who she pretended, had been kill'd because he was a Partizan of the Medes. *Aryandes* had been constituted Governour of *Ægypt* under *Cambyfes*, and in succeeding Time was put to death by *Darius* for attempting to emulate one of his Actions. He had seen that *Darius* exceedingly desir'd to leave such a Monument of himself as no King had done before; and resolving to imitate the Example, he receiv'd the Reward of his Presumption. For after *Darius* had coin'd Pieces of Gold, refin'd to the utmost Perfection; *Aryandes* Governour of *Ægypt*, caus'd the same to be imitated in the purest Silver; and this Aryandian Money is in high Esteem to this Day. But when *Darius* knew what he had done, he charg'd him with a Design to rebel, and under that Colour put him to death. This *Aryandes* in Compassion to *Pheretima*, assisted her with all the Forces of *Ægypt* both by Land and Sea; appointing *Amasis*, one of the Maraphian Blood, to lead the Land Army, and *Badres* of Passargadian Extraction to command the Fleet. But before he gave Orders for the Departure of these Forces, he sent a Herald to *Barca*, to demand who they were that had assassinated *Arcesilaus*. The Bar-

cæans

cæans readily acknowledg'd the Action to be their own, in Requital of the many Evils they had suffer'd by him: And when *Aryandes* receiv'd their Answer, he caus'd the Army to march away with *Pheretima*. This was the Pretext of the War. But in my Opinion he sent these Forces to conquer the Libyans. For of the Libyan Nations, which are many and differing in their Customs, few were subject to *Darius*, and the far greater Part despis'd his Power. To begin with those who inhabit next to the Ægyptians: The Adrymachides are the first People we find; and for the most Part observe the Usages of Ægypt: Only they cloath in the Libyan Habit. Their Wives wear a Chain of Brass on each Leg; dress in their Hair, and if they happen to find a Louse, kill it with their Teeth, in Revenge of the Bite they receiv'd; and then spit it out again. In the Observation of one Custom they are singular; being the only People of all *Libya*, who bring their Virgins before Marriage into the King's Presence, that if he like any one above the rest, he may lye with her. This Country extends from the Borders of Ægypt to the Port of *Plynus*. Westward of this Nation the Gigames are seated, and possess the Country down to the Island *Aphrodisia*. In the midst of their Coast the Island of *Platea* is situate, which was inhabited by the Cyrenæans; and the Lake of *Menelas*, with the City of *Aziris*, built likewise by the same People, are on the Continent. At this Place the Territories of *Silphium* begin, and extend from that Island of *Platea* to the Chopps of the *Syrtis*. This People in their Customs resemble the rest of the Libyans. The Asbystes  
are

are next adjoyning to the Gigames, and inhabit a Country lying to the Westward above *Cyrene*. They possess no Part of the Coast; because the Cyrenæans are Masters of all the maritime Places. They are no less, but rather more experienc'd than the rest of the Libyans in mounting their Chariots; and for the most Part endeavour to imitate the Manners of the Cyrenæans. The Aufchises are seated to the Westward of the Abystes, in a Region situate above *Barca*, and extending to the Sea by the Country of *Euesperides*. In the midst of the Aufchises, the Cabales inhabit a small Territory, reaching to *Tauchira* a maritim City of *Barca*. Both these observe the same Customs with those who dwell above *Cyrene*. The next Country to the Westward of the Aufchises is possess'd by the Nasamones, a very numerous People. In Summer they leave their Cattle on the Coast, and go up to the Plains of *Ægyla*, in order to gather the Fruit of the Palm-trees; which abound in that Place, and are all Bearers without Exception. There they take Grass-hoppers, which having dried in the Sun they grind, and infusing them in Milk, compose a Liquor for their Drink. Every Man by the Custom of the Country has divers Wives; which he uses, like the Massagetes, in publick, after he has set up his Staff for a Mark: And when they marry, the Bride goes the first Night to all the invited Guests; and after they have lain with her, they make her a Present, which every one brings from Home to that end. In their solemn Oaths and Divinations they observe the following Manner. When they swear, they lay their Hands on the Sepulchres of those, who are generally esteem'd



esteem'd to have been the most just and excellent Persons among them. And when they would divine, they go to the Tombs of their Ancestors, and after certain Prayers, they lye down to sleep ; and ground their Predictions upon the Dreams they have at those Times. In pledging their Faith to each other, they mutually present a Cup of Liquor ; and if they have none, the Parties take up some Dust from the Ground, which they put into their Mouths. The Psyllians are the next adjacent People to the Nasamones, and were destroy'd in this Manner. All their Country lying within the *Syrzis*, is destitute of Springs ; and when the South-Wind had dried up all their Reserves of Water, they consulted together, and determin'd to make War against that Wind (I only repeat what the Libyans say) ; and after they were arriv'd at the Sands, the South-Wind blowing hard buried them alive, and the Nasamones took Possession of their Habitations. The Country that lies above the Nasamones is inhabited by the Garamantes, who avoid the Sight and Society of all other Men ; possessing no military Weapon, nor daring to defend themselves. But in the maritim Places situate to the Westward they have their Maces for their Neighbours, who shave their Heads quite round ; only leaving a Lock of Hair growing in the middle of the Crown : And when they make War, they wear the Skins of Ostriches instead of Armour. The River *Cinyps* runs thro' their Country ; rising in an Eminence call'd the Hill of the *Graces* ; which is cover'd with Trees (tho' all the other Parts I have mention'd are naked) and distant two hundreds Stades from the Sea.

Next

Next in Situation are the Gindanes, whose Wives the Libyans say, wear as many Borders on their Coats as they have had Men: And she who has the most of those Borders, is most esteem'd because she has had the greatest Number of Lovers. The Promontory that advances from this Country to the Sea, is possess'd by the Lotophages, who live altogether upon the Fruit of the Lotus, which is of equal Bigness of that of the Lentiscus; but exceedingly sweet like the Date. The Inhabitants make Wine of this Fruit. Next adjoyning to the Lotophages, are the Machlyes, on that side which descends to the Sea. They eat the Fruit of the Lotos: But subsist not wholly upon it, like those I mention'd before. The *Triton*, a considerable River, runs along the Borders of this Country, and falls into the great Lake *Tritonis*; where the Island of *Pblia* is situate; to which the Lacedæmonians were admonish'd by an Oracle to send a Colony, on this Occasion. When *Jason* had built the *Argos* at the Foot of Mount *Pelion*, and put a Hecatomb on board, with a Tripos of Brass, he sail'd round the Coast of *Peloponnesus*, in order to go to *Delphi*: But endeavouring to double the Cape of *Malea*, he was surpriz'd by a violent Storm blowing from the North, and driven to the Coast of *Libya*: Where, before he could discern the Shore, he found his Ship engag'd in the Sands of the Lake *Tritonis*. In this Perplexity, they say, a Triton appearing to *Jason*, promis'd to bring the Ship off, and send her away safe, if he would present him with the Tripos. *Jason* accepted the Condition; and the Triton, after he had shewn him a Passage out of the Shelves, plac'd the Tripos in his own

F f

Temple:

Temple : Which he had no sooner done, than he deliver'd an Oracle from thence ; declaring to *Jason* and his Companions, That when any of the Descendents of those who were on board the *Argos*, should be possess'd of that Tripos, Fate had determin'd that the Grecians should establish a hundred Colonies about the Lake of *Tritonis* : And when the neighbouring Nations of *Libya* were inform'd of this Prediction, they took care to conceal the Tripos. Next to these is the Seat of the Auses ; whose Territories, together with those of the Machlyes, encompass the whole Lake of *Tritonis*, and are separated by the River *Triton*. They let their Hair grow on the fore Part of their Head, and the Machlyes behind. The Auses celebrate an Annual Festival to *Minerva* ; in which the Virgins dividing themselves into two Companies, engage in a Combat with Sticks and Stones. This, they say, is done, pursuant to ancient Custom, in Honour of a National Goddess call'd *Minerva* ; and maintain that all those who dye of the Wounds they receive in these Combats, were not Virgins. But before they depart out of the Field, they take the Virgin, who by common Consent has behav'd herself most valiantly ; and having dress'd her in a Corinthian Helmet, and a whole Suit of Grecian Armour, they place her in a Chariot, and conduct her in Triumph round the Lake. What kind of Arms these Virgins us'd before the Grecians came to inhabit in those Parts, I cannot affirm ; but I conjecture they were such as the *Ægyptians* use : And I am of Opinion, that the Shield and Helmet were brought from *Ægypt* into *Greece*. They say, *Minerva* was born



of *Neptune* and the Lake *Tritonis*; and that being discontented with her Father on some Occasion, she gave her self to *Jupiter*, who made her his Daughter by Adoption. The Men of this Country have no Wives appropriated to particular Persons; but accompany with all Women indifferently, after the Manner of other Animals: And when a Boy has been educated by his Mother to a convenient Age, he is admitted into an Assembly of the Men, which is held every three Months to that purpose; and the Man he applies himself chiefly to, is reputed his Father. This Nation inhabits the maritim Parts, below the Libyan Nomades: And above these, ascending farther within the Land, lies a Region frequented only by wild Beasts; beyond which is a Ridge of Sands, stretching from the *Ægyptian Thebes* to the Columns of *Hercules*. After a Journey of about ten Days within this Space, Rocks of Salt are found, rising like Pillars, and spouting out a cool and pleasant Water from the Top of each. Those who inhabit the Parts adjacent to these Springs, are the last of all the Libyans on this side the Desarts, and beyond the Beasts of Prey. Ten Days Journey from *Thebes*, the Territories of the Ammonians begin, who have a Temple resembling that of the *Theban Jupiter*. For, as I said before, the Image of *Jupiter*; which is plac'd in the Temple of *Thebes*, has the Head of a Ram. They have likewise a Fountain, which in the Morning is tepid; and growing cool during the Hours of walking abroad, becomes very cold about Noon, and is then us'd in watering their Gardens. As the Day declines, this Cold gradually diminishes, till about the Set-

ting of the Sun the Water becomes tepid again, and continuing to increase in Heat, boils at Midnight like a Tide, and from that Time to the Morning cools by degrees. This Fountain is call'd, *The Fountain of the Sun*. At the End of about ten Days more, Men arrive by a sandy Way at another Pillar of Salt, like those of the Ammonians; spouting out Water in the same Manner, and surrounded with Habitations. The Region goes by the Name of *Ægila*; and is frequented by the Nasamones on Account of the Dates. Ten Days more bring a Man to another Pillar of Salt, with an Eruption of Water and Palm-trees covering the adjacent Lands, as in the Places abovemention'd. This Country is inhabited by a populous Nation; known by the Name of the Garamantes, who, after they have laid fresh Earth upon the Salt, sow their Corn in that Ground. From these to the Lotophages the way is short: But from the Lotophages to that Region where the Oxen go backward, is as far as a Man can walk in thirty Days. The Horns of these Animals shoot directly forward; and compell them to draw back as they feed. For they could not possibly go forward; because their Horns must stick in the Ground. In every thing else they are like other Oxen; except only that their Hide is harder and thicker. These Garamantes are accustom'd to sit in Chariots, and hunt the *Æthiopian Troglodytes*; who are reported to be swifter of Foot than any other Nation in the World. They feed upon Serpents, and Lizards, with many other Kinds of Reptils; and their Speech resembles the shrieking of a Bat, rather than the Language of Men.

At

At the Distance of about ten Days Journey from the Garamantes, is seen another Mound of Salt, with a Fountain issuing out of the Summit. The adjacent Parts are inhabited by the Atlantes, who are the only People, we know destitute of a particular Name. For that of Atlantes is the common Appellation of all the Libyans in Conjunction, and not given to any distinct Nation, this only excepted. This People curse the Sun as it passes over their Heads; pursuing him with the vilest Reproaches; because he consumes both the Men and the Country with his scorching Heat. After a Journey of ten Days more another Hill of Salt appears, with a Spring like the former, and Habitations of Men in the adjoining Region. In the Neighbourhood of this Place Mount *Atlas* is situate; circular in Form, and slender in Circumference; but of so great a Height, that his Head is always invisible, being ever surrounded with Clouds, both in Summer and Winter; and therefore by the Inhabitants call'd *The Pillar of Heaven*. From hence these Men derive their Name, and are call'd Atlantes. They neither eat the Flesh of any Animal, nor are ever interrupted in their Sleep by Dreams. Thus far I have been able to set down the Names of those Nations that inhabit this Ridge of Sands; but cannot proceed farther; tho' they reach beyond the Columns of *Hercules*. Within that Space, Mines of Salt are found, branching out in Veins, so far as a Man may travel in ten Days; and those Parts are inhabited by Men, who build their Houses with Lumps of this Salt. In these Parts of *Libya* no Rain falls; for Walls of Salt could not stand long, if any Rain should fall there.



there. The Salt which is dug out of these Mines is of two Colours, White and Purple. All above this Ridge, tending to the South, and midland Parts of *Libya*, is utterly desert; without Spring or Beast, Wood, Rain, or any kind of Moisture. From *Ægypt* to the Lake *Tritonis*, the Libyans are Breeders of Cattle; eat Flesh, and drink Milk; but abstain from the Flesh of Cows, no less than the *Ægyptians*, and will not keep Swine. Nay, among the Women of *Cyrene*, to strike a Cow is accounted a Crime; because they celebrate the Fasts and Festivals of the *Ægyptian Isis*: Neither will the *Barcæan* Women taste the Flesh either of a Hog, or of a Cow. And this is the State of things in those Parts.

THE Libyans who inhabit to the Westward of the Lake *Tritonis*, are not keepers of Cattle, and differ from the Customs of those that are; one especially relating to Children. For many of those who live upon Pasturage, tho' I cannot affirm the same of all, are accustomed, when their Children attain to the Age of four Years, to cauterise their Veins, either on the Crown or Temples, with an Application of Sheep's-Wooll in the Greese: To the End that, during all the Time of their Lives, they may never be offended by pituitous Defluxions from the Head. This, they say, is the Cause of the perfect Health they enjoy: And indeed the Libyans of all the Nations we know, are the most healthy; but whether from this or any other Cause, I shall not determine. If any of their Children faint under the Operation, they recover again by a sprinkling of Goats Urine; which is a Remedy of their own Invention. These things I repeat after the Libyans. In their Sacrifices,  
these

these Libyan Nomades use the following Ceremonies. They cut off the Ear of the Victim ; which they throw over the Top of the Building, as the first-fruits : And after that, they turn the Head of the Animal from them. They sacrifice to no other Deities than the Sun and Moon, which are universally worshipp'd by all the Libyans. But those who inhabit about the Lake *Tritonis*, sacrifice also to *Triton* and *Neptune* ; and principally to *Minerva*. From these the Grecians receiv'd the Apparel and Buckler of *Minerva*'s Images : Except only, that in *Libya* her Habit is made of Skins, and the Fringes that hang below the Buckler, are Thongs of Leather, and not Serpents. In all other things the Resemblance is perfect : And even the Name testifies that the Stole of the *Palladion* came from *Libya*. For the Libyan Women wear a Mantle of tann'd Goat-skins, dyed in Red and fring'd, over the rest of their Garments. From these Skins the Grecians gave the Name of *Ægis* to *Minerva*'s Shield : And I am inclin'd to think that the Songs of Lamentation, which are sung in Temples, had the same Original ; because they are commonly us'd by the Women of *Libya*, and gracefully perform'd. The Grecians likewise learn'd from the Libyans, the manner of guiding their Chariots with four Horses rang'd in Front. All the Nomades interr the Dead like the Grecians, except the Nasamones ; who observe the Time when the sick Person is ready to expire, and then place him in a sitting Posture, that he may not dye with his Face upward. Their Houses are made of Shrubs compacted with Rushes, and portable. Such are the Customs of these People.

THE West side of the River *Triton* is inhabited by the Libyan *Auses* ; who being Husbandmen, and accustom'd to live in Houses, are call'd *Maxyes*. They wear long Hair: on the right side of the Head, and shave the left. They paint the Body with Vermilion, and pretend to be of Trojan Extraction. Their Country, with all the rest of the western Parts of *Libyā* abounds more in Woods and wild Beasts, than those of the Nomades. For the Regions of *Libya* that lye to the Eastward, and are inhabited by Herdsmen, are low and sandy, as far as the River *Triton*: Whereas those that are possess'd by Husbandmen, and situate beyond that River, to the Westward, are mountainous ; abounding in Woods, and Beasts of Prey. Serpents of incredible Bigness are seen in this Country ; with Lyons, Elephants, Bears, Aspics, and Asses arm'd with Horns. The *Cynocephalus*, which, as the Libyans say, has Eyes plac'd on his Breast ; together with Savages, both Men and Women ; and many other strange Animals ; are likewise frequent in those Parts. None of these things are seen among the Nomades : But in Recompence, they have Eagles with a white Tail ; Buffaloes ; small Deer ; and Asses that never drink. They have likewise the *Orys* ; which is a wild Beast, equal in Bigness to a Cow : And from the Horns of this Animal the Phœnicians took the Measure of their Cubit. There is also the *Bassaria* ; the *Hyæna* ; the Porcupine ; the wild Ram ; the *Dictys* ; the *Thois* ; the Panther ; the *Borys* ; and Land-Crocodiles of about three Cubits in Length, resembling the Lizard in Shape ; together with a sort of Ostrich that burrows in the Earth, and a small



Serpent with one Horn. These, and all Kinds of Animals that live in other Countries, except the Stag and the wild Boar, abound in the Regions of the Nomades. But neither of those two are ever seen in any Part of *Lybia*. They have three sorts of Rats; some of which are call'd by the Name of Dipodes, or two-footed; some by that of Zegeries, or Mountain-Rats, as the Lybian Word sounds in the Grecian Language; and others are nam'd Echines. There are also Weefels in the Territories of *Silphium*, perfectly like those of *Tartessus*. So many are the wild Beasts produc'd in the Countries of the Lybian Nomades; according to the best Information I could attain by the strictest and most diligent Inquiry. Next adjoyning to the Maxyes, the Zaveces are situate, whose Wives drive their Chariots in War: And after them the Country of the Zygantes, where abundance of Honey is made by Bees; and, they say, a much greater Quantity by the Artifice of Men. All these paint themselves with Vermilion, and eat Monkeys, which are bred there in great Numbers, especially in the Hills. The Carthaginians say, that an Island call'd *Cyranis* lies at a small Distance from this Shore; inconsiderable in Breadth, but comprehending two hundred Stades in Length; of easy Access from the Continent, and abounding in Olive-trees and Vines. They add, that there is a Lake in this Island, out of which the Virgins of the Country take up with Feathers a pitchy Substance intermix'd with Spriggs of Gold. I cannot affirm the Fact to be true; but I write no more than they say. Yet 'tis not impossible. For I have seen Pitch drawn up out of a Lake  
in

in the Island of *Zacynthus*; which contains several Lakes: The largest of which is a Square of seventy Foot on every side, and of two Fathom in Depth. They let down a Pole into this Lake, with a Myrtle fasten'd to the End, and draw out Pitch hanging about the Myrtle, of a Bituminous Scent, and better than that of *Pieria*. This they put into a Pit prepar'd to that purpose near the Lake; and when they have collected a great Quantity, they pour it off into Vessels. All that falls into the Water, passes under Ground, and appears again upon the Surface of the Sea, which is about four Stades distant from the Lake. These things being so, the Account given of the Libyan Lake may not seem improbable. The Carthaginians farther say, that beyond the Columns of *Hercules* there is a Region of *Libya* well inhabited; where when they arrive, they unload their Merchandize on the Shore, and returning again to their Ships, make great Fires: That the Inhabitants seeing the Smoak, come down to the Coast, and leaving Gold in Exchange for the Goods, depart again to some distance from the Place: That the Carthaginians at the same Time going ashore, view the Gold; and if the Quantity seem sufficient for the Goods, they take it up and sail away; but if they are not contented, they return to their Ships and continue there: That the Libyans upon this come again, and lay down more Gold to the former, 'till they have satisfied the Merchants: That no Wrong is done on either part, the Carthaginians never touching the Gold, before they acquiesce in the Price; nor the Inhabitants the Merchandize, before the Gold is taken away. And thus I have

have nam'd all the People of *Libya* I can: The greater Part of which have had little Regard to the King of the Medes, either at that Time or since. But I must add, that this Country is inhabited by four several Sorts of People, and no more, that we know. Two of these are Original Inhabitants, and the other two are Strangers. Of the first Sort are the Libyans and Æthiopians; of the other, the Phœnicians and Grecians. Nevertheless in my Opinion *Libya* is not comparable to *Asia* or *Europe* in Fertility, except in the Territories of *Cinyps*, which lies upon a River of the same Name, and is equal to any other Land in the Production of Corn, and altogether unlike the rest of *Libya*. For the Soil is black, and well water'd with Springs; secure from immoderate Dryness; and never hurt by excessive wet; tho' some Rain falls in that Region. These Lands produce as great a Measure of Plenty as those about *Babylon*. The Country of the Euesperides is likewise fruitful; yeilding in a very plentiful Year a hundred for one; but that of *Cinyps* about three hundred. The Territories of *Cyrene* are in Situation higher than any other Part of the Country that belongs to the Libyan Nomades, and contain three Regions worthy of Admiration. For no sooner is the Harvett of the maritim Places laid up, and Vintage over, than the Fruits of the second Region, which they call the Hills, attain to maturity: And whilst they are carried off, those of the highest Part become ripe. So that during the Time they eat and drink the first Productions, the next Crop is perfectly ready. Thus the Cyrenæans are eight Months employ'd in a continued Succession of Harvetts;  
and



and this may be sufficient to say concerning these things.

THE Persians, who were sent by *Aryandes* from *Ægypt* to revenge the Quarrel of *Pheretima*, arriving before *Barca* laid Siege to the City, and by a Herald demanded those Persons who had been concern'd in the Death of *Arcefilaus*: But the Inhabitants having universally consented to the Fact, refus'd to hearken to the Message. And after the Besiegers had been about nine Months before the Place, carrying on divers Mines towards the Walls, and using battering Engines of War; an Artificer in Brass discover'd their Saps in this Manner. He carried a Shield of that Metal round the City within the Wall, and applying it to the Ground, heard no Noise where the Earth was solid: But when he came to the Parts that were undermin'd, the Brass rung. Upon which discovery some of the Barcæans fell to countermining, and kill'd all the Persians who were employ'd in the Mines. Whilst others dismounted their Engines. Much Time had been spent in the Siege; many of the Barcæans kill'd, and the Loss of the Persians no less considerable; when *Amasis* General of the Army, finding he could not succeed by Force, resolv'd to reduce the City by Fraud; and to that End contriv'd this Stratagem. He open'd a broad Trench in the Night, which he cover'd with slight Planks of Wood; and by spreading a Surface of Earth upon the Timber, rendred that Part equal to the adjoining Ground. Early the next Morning he demanded a Conference with the Barcæans; which they readily accepted, because

cause they were desirous to come to an Accommodation; and accordingly a Treaty was concluded on both sides, and confirm'd by Oath on that spot of Ground, which was undermin'd; importing, "That the Agreement should continue in force as long as the Earth on which they stood should remain in the present Condition: That the Barcæans should pay a competent Tribute to the King, and that the Persians should innovate nothing in *Barca*." Under the Faith of this Treaty the Barcæans opening their Gates, went frequently out of the City, and receiv'd all the Persians who desir'd to be admitted. But during this Intercourse, the Persians enter'd the Place with all their Forces; after they had broken down the Covering of the Trench they had made. Which they did, to free themselves from the Obligation of the Oath they had taken to the Barcæans, "That the Treaty should subsist so long as the Earth on which they stood should continue in the same Condition:" And suppos'd, that upon the Alteration they had made in that Place, they had likewise dissolv'd the Force of their Engagement.

WHEN the Persians had thus surpriz'd the City, and put the Power into the Hands of *Pheretima*, she caus'd those who had been principally concern'd in the Death of *Arcefilaus*, to be empal'd round the Walls; and having cut off the Breasts of their Wives, affix'd them about the same Places. She gave the Pillage of the other Inhabitants to the Persians; excepting only the Battiades, who had not consented to the Enterprize: And on that Account she put them

them into Possession of the City. The Persians after they had reduc'd the rest to Servitude, march'd away; and when they arriv'd in the Territories of *Cyrene*, the Cyrenæans, in Obedience to some Oracle, permitted them to pass freely. But as they pass'd; *Bares*, who commanded the Naval Forces, endeavour'd to persuade them to plunder the City: To which *Amasis*, General of the Land Army, would not consent; saying, He was sent against no other Grecian City than that of *Barca*. Nevertheless when they had march'd thro' the Country, and were arriv'd at the Altar of the *Lycean Jupiter*, they began to repent that they had not possess'd themselves of *Cyrene*, and attempted to return thither. But tho' the Cyrenæans were not upon their Guard, nor had drawn out any Force to oppose them, the Persians were struck with a Panick Fear; and turning back again with great Precipitation, encamp'd at the Distance of about sixty Stades. In this Camp they receiv'd an Order of *Aryandes* for their Return; and having desir'd a Supply of Provisions from the Cyrenæans, they obtain'd their Request, and march'd away towards *Ægypt*. In their March they were continually harass'd by the Libyans; who, to get their Clothes and Baggage, kill'd all they found sick or straggling, 'till the Army arriv'd in *Ægypt*; after they had penetrated the farthest Part of *Libya* to the Country of the Euesperides. The Barcæan Captives were sent from *Ægypt* to King *Darius*; and by his Command settled in a District of *Bactria*; which they afterwards call'd by the Name of *Barca*, and the Place is inhabited at this Time. Nevertheless



theless the End of *Pheretima* was not happy : For soon after she had taken Revenge against the Barcæans, and was return'd to *Ægypt* from *Libya*, she was eaten alive by Worms, and perish'd miserably. So odious to the Gods are the Excesses of human Vengeance. Such, and so exorbitant was the Cruelty exercis'd against the Barcæans by *Pheretima* the Daughter of *Battus*.

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*The End of the Fourth Book.*

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## An INDEX to the First Volume of the *History* of *HERODOTUS*.

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